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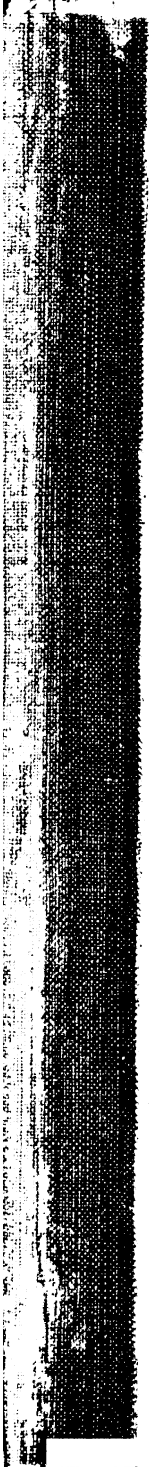


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# DIARY IN FRANCE,

MAINLY ON TOPICS

CONCERNING

## EDUCATION AND THE CHURCH.

BY

CHRISTOPHER WORDSWORTH, D.D.

CANON OF ST. PETER'S, WESTMINSTER.

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*SECOND EDITION.*

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TO

**JOSHUA WATSON, ESQ. D.C.L.**

A NAME DEAR TO ALL

WHO VENERATE THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND,

AND WHO HAVE SEEN IN HIS EXAMPLE

THE PRACTICAL WORKING OF HER SPIRIT

OF PIETY, CHARITY, AND WISDOM,

IN THE ADVANCEMENT OF CHRISTIAN EDUCATION,

AND IN THE DIFFUSION OF PURE RELIGION,

BOTH AT HOME AND IN FOREIGN PARTS ;

THIS DIARY IS INSCRIBED,

WITH REVERENTIAL AND GRATEFUL AFFECTION,

BY THE WRITER, WHO REGARDS HIS FRIENDSHIP

AS ONE OF THE BLESSINGS OF HIS LIFE.





## P R E F A C E.

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THE following pages were written at Paris in the course of the visit there described, which extended from Aug. 2 to Sept. 2, in the summer of 1844, being such a portion of his Harrow vacation as the Author had at his disposal for that purpose. They were sent, in the form of letters, to a female friend, in the hope that they might afford some interest and amusement to her and the members of her family; and by them the letters were imparted, as they arrived, to two other near connexions. On the Author's return, the letters were transcribed, with some additions, in the form of a connected journal, and in this shape the MS. was seen by some other individuals to whose opinion the Author is bound to pay great respect; and by some of these he was requested to commit it to the press. This, however, he was reluctant to do, on account of the nature of its contents, consisting in great measure of records of conversations with private individuals. To that objection it was replied, that the difficulty would be removed by the transmission of the MS. to France,

and by the communication of it to the parties concerned, for their consent to the publication. Accordingly this was done, through the medium of a French literary friend, to whom the writer begs to offer his best thanks for that and other services which he has kindly rendered him, as also for the French annotations from his pen which will be found printed at the foot of the pages of the Journal.

It is a satisfaction to him to reflect, that by being submitted to persons in France peculiarly qualified to judge of its accuracy, his narrative has received a stamp of authenticity which it would not otherwise have possessed.

The Notes which the Author has added at the close of the volume are designed to give further evidence in illustration of the main topics of the Journal, which appear to be assuming every day more and more importance both in France and in our own country.

April, 1845.

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## ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE SECOND EDITION.

To this edition a Table of Contents has been prefixed; and some important documents have been added to the Notes.

Cloisters, Westminster,  
May 18, 1846.

# CONTENTS.

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## DIEPPE.

	PAGE
Ecole Chrétienne. Cathedral . . . . .	1
Road to Rouen. Calvaries, &c. . . . .	2

## ROUEN.

Table d'hôte . . . . .	3
Archbishop's entrance. Road to Paris. State of Religion . . . . .	4

## PARIS.

English Church . . . . .	5
Remarks on site. Bishop Luscombe. English congregations abroad . . . . .	6
Madeleine . . . . .	7
Napoleon and Pius VII. Pope's deposing power. Sermon . . . . .	9
Barrières in churches . . . . .	9
Bishop Luscombe . . . . .	11
Sunday at Paris. Feeling of France towards England . . . . .	12
Visits. M. Bonnetty. Abbé Jager . . . . .	13
M. Gondon . . . . .	14
Present state of French Church, with regard to the State . . . . .	15
Results of the revolution of 1830. <i>Quotidienne</i> and <i>Univers</i> . Ply- mouth Brethren . . . . .	16
Necessity of Church teaching. Reference to England . . . . .	17
M. Bonnetty. Bibliothèque du Roi . . . . .	18
MSS. of Theocritus. M. Hase. M. Miller . . . . .	19
French Benedictines. Dom Guéranger. Ultramontane cha- racter of French Church . . . . .	22

	PAGE
Rome not the centre of unity. Romanist use of <i>private judgment</i>	24
Rome is schismatical, not England . . . . .	26
Papal infallibility. Papal Bulls . . . . .	26
Theological <i>Sorites</i> . . . . .	27
Rome ouvre les bras, mais elle ne remue pas les pieds. Tran- substantiation. Missions to China . . . . .	28
Theological Seminary of St. Sulpice . . . . .	29
Constitution of French <i>University</i> . Examination for Bachelor's degree . . . . .	30
Text-books . . . . .	32
St. Sulpice. Sermons, &c. . . . .	34
French Protestant congregations . . . . .	36

## VERSAILLES.

Jesuits . . . . .	37—39
Robe of Argenteuil . . . . .	38
Condition of Clergy . . . . .	39
Critical condition of France . . . . .	40
Peculiar dangers of French social system . . . . .	41

## PARIS.

House of the order of Jesuits . . . . .	42
The Provincial . . . . .	43
The Pantheon . . . . .	44
<i>Separation</i> of Church and State by no means conduces to the real <i>Liberty</i> of the former. Condition of French Church . . . . .	46
Lamentable collisions between it and the State . . . . .	46
Newspaper polemics of the Episcopate . . . . .	47
Reference to England . . . . .	48
Nomination of French Bishops. Distribution des prix . . . . .	49—54
Aumôniers, Provisours . . . . .	49, 50
— Private schools of Paris ; their connexion with the University . . . . .	50
French parochial Clergy ; their incomes, &c. . . . .	54
Chairs in Churches . . . . .	55
M. Gondou, <i>Mouvement Religieux in Angleterre</i> . . . . .	56
Public feeling toward Religion. False position of the French Church . . . . .	57
The Republican spirit promotes the cause of the Papacy . . . . .	58
"Grand Concours" of Parisian Schools . . . . .	59
Description of the Ceremony. Sorbonne . . . . .	60—65
La Marseillaise . . . . .	61

# CONTENTS.

ix

	PAGE
M. Villemain's address . . . . .	62
Democratic and restless spirit prevailing in the University . . . . .	65
French Literature, Newspapers, Feuilletons . . . . .	67
Collège de Louis le Grand . . . . .	68—74
Distracting nature of French Instruction . . . . .	69
Consequences of this . . . . .	70
Character of Parisian Colleges or Schools . . . . .	74
Bishop of Langres on University Education . . . . .	75
Report of the Chaplains . . . . .	77
M. St. Marc Girardin.—M. de Riancey . . . . .	78
The Abbé Migne's Grande Imprimerie . . . . .	79
Editions of the Fathers of the Church . . . . .	80—84
Anglican Ordinations . . . . .	81
St. Cyprian de Unitate Ecclesie . . . . .	83
Fête de l'Assomption . . . . .	85
Sermons.—On the Power ascribed to the Virgin Mary . . . . .	85, 86
Collège de France.—MM. Quinet and Michelet . . . . .	87
M. Dupin's Manuel . . . . .	88
Bibliothèque du Roi . . . . .	89
Ecole Polytechnique . . . . .	89, 90
Classical learning in France . . . . .	90—92
Le Correspondant . . . . .	91
Provincial of the Jesuits . . . . .	93
Papal Supremacy and Infallibility . . . . .	94—97
Gallican Articles . . . . .	96
Faith and Opinion . . . . .	97
Alleged Miracles . . . . .	98
The Benedictines . . . . .	100
Liberty of instruction.—Fallacy in the term . . . . .	103
Low ground taken by French Church . . . . .	104
Inconsistencies . . . . .	105
Converts to Rome.—Abbé Ratisbonne . . . . .	106—108
Fanaticism of Infidelity . . . . .	109
Benedictines . . . . .	110
Catechizing . . . . .	111
Abbé Jager . . . . .	113
Une Pierre . . . . .	118
St. Denis and Westminster Abbey . . . . .	119
Frères Chrétiens . . . . .	120—125

	PAGE
Diligence . . . . .	126
College of Juilly . . . . .	128
Abbé Bautain . . . . .	129—135
Abbé Goscheler—Subordination—French Schools . . . . .	129—130
Jesuit schools . . . . .	131
Religious instruction at Juilly . . . . .	132
Scholastic punishments . . . . .	133
Library—Bossuet . . . . .	134
Refectory . . . . .	135
Learning of Clergy . . . . .	136
Argument for Papal Spiritual Supremacy . . . . .	137—139
Ignorance in France concerning the English Church and its Reformation . . . . .	140—143
Royal Supremacy . . . . .	141
Feeling toward England . . . . .	142
Versailles . . . . .	144
French domestic education . . . . .	145
Marriage . . . . .	146
Jesuits . . . . .	147
Academic examinations . . . . .	148—152
Agrégés . . . . .	149
Frères Gaume . . . . .	152
Antichristianism.—Separation of Church and State ; its political and religious consequences . . . . .	153—157
Results of the Charte of 1830 favourable to the Papacy . . . . .	154
Influence of Regular Clergy on the popular mind . . . . .	157
Counter influence of the Sceptical School . . . . .	158
These two forms of Antichristianism produce and reproduce, act and react on each other ; both dangerous to the Crown and Constitution . . . . .	159
Hopes for France . . . . .	160
Fanatical Extravagances of Infidelity in the Literary and Educational Institutions of Paris . . . . .	161—165—171
French Publishing trade . . . . .	162
Misconceptions concerning the Royal Supremacy . . . . .	165—168
English Church and Reformation . . . . .	168
M. Hase . . . . .	170
Mesmerism . . . . .	171
Academy's Prize for an Eulogy on Voltaire . . . . .	173
Soeurs de Charité Protestantes. Description of this establish-	

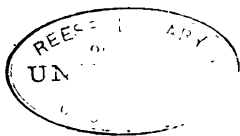
	PAGE
ment, and remarks on the excellence of its object and the defects of its constitution and mode of acting . . .	175—178
Miracle des Roses . . . . .	178
Religious dramas . . . . .	179
M. Boissonnade . . . . .	181
No royal arms in France . . . . .	182
St. Germain Auxerrois. Observations on the <i>tenure</i> of Churches in France, and its consequences . . . . .	183
Irish College . . . . .	185
The Pope exercises an academic power throughout the extent of the Roman Obedience. Map of Irish estates . . . . .	186
Dom Guéranger . . . . .	187
Position of the French Church . . . . .	188
Has it discharged its duty to the country ? . . . .	190—193
Present conduct and language of the French Clergy to the State. Question of Supremacy. Collisions and their probable consequence . . . . .	193—195
Abbé de la Mennais. The <i>Avenir</i> . Church of Nôtre Dame des Victoires . . . . .	196—200
Sermon and Service. Confrérie . . . . .	201—205
Religious improvements in France. Ultramontanism . . . .	206
Sceptical teaching of the University of France . . . . .	207, 208

## NOTES.

GALLICAN ARTICLES of 1682 . . . . .	209
CONCORDAT of 1801 . . . . .	211
ORGANIC ARTICLES of 1802 . . . . .	213
CHARTÉ of 1830 . . . . .	231
The <i>Semeur</i> on the temporal supremacy claimed by the Pope, and on the alleged distinction between <i>doctrins</i> and <i>discipline</i> . Rome retracts nothing ; and on M. Dupin's system . . . . .	240—244
On the consequences of the Charte of 1830—On the oath of the Jesuits and Romanist Bishops to the Pope—Suppression of the Jesuits—Letter of the Archbishop of Paris to the King on National Education ; and ministerial censure of the same . . . . .	244—247
Pamphlets of the Bishop of Langres—Observations of French Episcopate on the Concordat and Loi Organique— <i>Amovibilité</i> of the Desservants . . . . .	248
Barrières in Churches . . . . .	250
Miscellaneous character of French education—M. de Cormenin . .	252



Mandement of Archbishop of Lyons concerning M. Dupin's Manual ; condemnation of the Mandement by the King and of M. Dupin by the Pope ; adhesion of the French Episcopate to the Archbishop of Lyons . . . . .	255—260
Comparative attention to the Latin and Greek languages in French schools . . . . .	260
Bossuet not approved by the present ecclesiastical party of France . . . . .	261
The Pope condemns the liberty of the press ; the Bishops contend for the liberty of teaching . . . . .	262
Conversion to Protestantism. Abbé Trivier . . . . .	263
Was Cyprian excommunicated by Pope Stephen ? . . . .	265
Note from the "Edinburgh Review" on the "Relations of the State to the Church of France" . . . . .	266
Episcopal remonstrances on national education . . . . .	267



## DIARY IN FRANCE.

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*Dieppe, Friday, Aug. 2, 1844.*—Saw a parochial school kept by five *sœurs de la société d'Ernemont*. The pupils are 300 and upwards in number ; learn reading, writing, book-keeping, and all sorts of needle-work. Every Sunday they attend the parish church, and are instructed by the curé there after vêpres, but all other religious instruction they receive from the principal sœur, whom we saw, viz. their prayers, creed, catechism, &c., and she also prepares them for their *première communion*, which they receive at the age of from twelve to fourteen years, according to their state of fitness and forwardness : some of them she instructs also after this. There were some children in the school as young as five years old. Those who are able pay something for their education, but the school is mainly supported by the town. The sœurs are fully occupied from morning to night. The sœur wore a black cloth

dress with a silver crucifix hung round her neck, a plain white linen cap, the under part bound straight across the forehead, concealing the hair—if there was any—the upper part consisted of two large flaps coming down the sides of the face ; no frills. They were preparing for a public distribution of prizes, at which the authorities of the town were to take the principal part. A large collection of prize books prettily got up in glazed bindings, was on the table. Near the school-room was a small apartment preparing for a circulating library, to consist of good books, because, as the *sœur* said, there were so many bad books now abroad corrupting the manners of the people. This is called an *École Chrétienne*, and is close to the cathedral. The children looked very cheerful ; the classes were in different rooms.

*Dieppe Cathedral.*—There was at ten o'clock a considerable number of persons quietly engaged in their devotions, almost all with books, and attending reverently to the service. In the cathedral there are a few lines of pews in the side aisles, which much impair the effect. At Rouen, in the cathedral, and in the great church of St. Ouen, are no pews, but simply moveable chairs. At Dieppe, in the cathedral, one of the most brilliant things in point of decoration is the chapel of the Virgin *de bon secours*, which is adorned with votive pictures of ships and sailors in distress.

We did not see any crosses by the road side all the way from Dieppe to Paris, which seems to me a

change from the state of things twelve years ago ; no cross, or *Calvary*, as it is called, can now be placed on the side of the public roads of France without the consent of the municipal authority and of the *préfet* : such an erection partakes therefore of the nature of a civil act. Our conducteur told us that we should arrive at Rouen in time to see the installation of the new archbishop, who has been translated from Versailles, but we found on arriving that it had taken place the day before. He said that he and his wife had been confirmed by the late archbishop, who is generally reported to have been *un très-brave homme*. We met several priests coming, as we supposed, from the ceremony of the day before : they wore their black ecclesiastical dress (*soutane*), with three-cornered hats ; this is also different from the practice of ten years ago in large towns, when priests scarcely dared to appear in their priest's habit. One I noticed in the *coupé* of a diligence which we passed, engaged in reading his devotions, which they, as is well known, say at stated times, though not strictly at the precise canonical hours ; a lesson this, which might be imitated by us English clergy, who would hardly have courage to draw out our prayer-books from our pocket, and commence saying over to ourselves the daily service.

At Rouen, where we arrived at four o'clock P.M., the guests at the *table d'hôte*, three men and one woman, beside the *maîtresse d'hôtel*, were all finding

great fault with the new archbishop for having come into the town privately by night without any display. By law the garrison of an episcopal city is bound to meet the bishop at his first entrance, and this *private* arrival they seemed to attribute to parsimony. An archbishop is allowed 10,000 francs by the state for the expenses of first establishment and installation, but when he is *translated*, as was the case here, he receives only 2000 francs, having received 8000 before as bishop on his first promotion. On the whole, the language of our company partook a good deal of *moquerie* and *persiflage* and *indifférentisme* about religion, which appears to be the prevailing tone, as far as we have seen, among the middle classes.

*Rouen by railroad to Paris, Aug. 3, 1844.*—We had three young pleasant Irishmen inside our carriage; and one Frenchman, apparently of the substantial class of *commerçants*. As among other things we happened to speak of the present character of the French as to religion, he made no scruple of declaring that people in general in this country, France, are very indifferent upon that subject; but he observed, that there was a wide distinction in this respect between the inhabitants of the large towns and those of the small villages, especially those of the south of France, where there is a good deal of devotion. He said that the priests in country places were much beloved, and had considerable influence; but that

France as a nation, and by far the greater number of its inhabitants individually, were strongly opposed to all concessions of temporal influence to the clergy, and were resolved to keep secular and spiritual concerns as far apart as possible<sup>1</sup>.

*Sunday, Aug. 4, at Paris.*—Went to the English service in the church built by Bishop Luscombe in the Rue d'Aguesseau, faubourg St. Honoré, near the English embassy, No. 39 of the faubourg. It seems to be regretted that, as an ambassador's hotel is considered to be in the country of which he is the representative, this English church should not have been placed within its precincts, and thus have stood on English ground : it is now private property, and stands in fact on French soil, and may be alienated from sacred to profane uses at any time by untoward circumstances. Besides, the connection with the embassy would have been a national profession of the English faith, a profession which one is sorry should not have been made, especially as the service, which is now superseded by that in the church, was, I remember, performed a few years ago in the ambassador's house. The service began at half past eleven o'clock. We found the bishop sitting in the vestry ; he received us very kindly, and asked

<sup>1</sup> Cet état de choses est encore plus vivement désiré par le clergé que par les citoyens. Le prêtre n'attend pas des concessions ; il n'aspire pas à exercer une influence temporelle ; il ne demande qu'une chose,—la liberté de faire le bien.

us to dine with him quietly after afternoon service at his house in the Champs Elysées, which we were glad to be able to do. The church holds about, I think, 700 people, and is constructed in a good Gothic style, lighted by three lanterns from the roof. The congregation appeared a very well ordered and attentive one, and there were upwards of ninety communicants that morning. Indeed, the English nation have great reason to be thankful for the existence of this church, and for the manner in which the service is conducted in it. If Englishmen and English families are to reside in foreign countries, it is much to be wished that some means could be devised, with the consent of the governments of those countries, for a more regular organization of English congregations, and for a better superintendence over them than now exists.

The want of Church discipline is no where more felt than in our foreign congregations: witness the miserable schism which is now dividing the English residents at Boulogne! These congregations, if *well* ordered, might be the means of promoting the cause of religious unity between the Church of England and foreign churches. *Now* they only serve to widen the breach. Again, there are the fabrics of our foreign places of worship, sustained in the most objectionable way by payments, sometimes within the church doors, for sittings, so much for each service, as at a theatre. How many persons, who

go abroad for health, or recreation, or what not, would be glad to have their *passports taxed* for the support of English places of worship in those countries which they are about to visit, if they knew that they were under proper control, and that provision was made in them for the admission and worship of the *poor*.

Between the services we stepped into the magnificent new church of La Madeleine ; though *church*, I think, it hardly ought to be called, as it presents externally, in almost all respects, the appearance of a vast, splendid *Greek temple* ; and the *interior* is fitted up in a manner little suited to the gravity and sobriety of a place of Christian worship. Over the apse, at the north end, for it does not stand east and west—indeed very few of the modern Paris churches do\*,—is a very brilliant fresco ; in the foreground of which, in most conspicuous form and attire, is the figure of Napoleon in his *imperial robes*, and near him is Pope Pius VII., who crowned him in 1804, and whom he ejected from Rome in 1809 depriving him of his dominions, and whom he kept in prison at Fontainebleau for several years !

The coronation of Napoleon was the *dethronement* of the Bourbons. In that act the Pope *exercised* his *deposing power* ; as, indeed, is clear from the act itself, especially when illustrated by the Bulls, by

\* It is remarkable that at Rome the two great churches of St Peter and St. John Lateran have a westward instead of eastward direction.



which it was accompanied, (the Bulls, *Qui Christi Domini Vices*, and *Ecclesia Christi*,) in which Pius VII. absolved all Frenchmen from their oaths of allegiance to the Bourbons, and in which he deprived more than a hundred French bishops of their sees, on account of their fidelity to the ejected dynasty! It is somewhat singular, that when this act of Pius VII. is cited to Romanists as a proof that the claim of the papacy to a deposing and a dispensing power is not obsolete, the reply is an appeal to *necessity*,—"the poor old Pope was *compelled* to do what he did by the iron hand of despotism." They seem to forget, that the same Pope had acknowledged the same Napoleon as lord of France, even when he was only first consul, by making the Concordat of 1801 with *him* in the name of the French nation; and if the Pope was so timid, and is *excused* as such in 1804, how is it that his *courage* grew with his *years*, and that when his own pontifical rights were at stake, he submitted to imprisonment rather than renounce them, and that he excommunicated in 1809 the same Napoleon whom he had crowned in 1804, and that he is lauded in this case for his courage, by the same persons who apologize for him in the other, on account of his timidity? However, France has grown wiser by experience. No Papal Bull can now be received into her territory without leave of the Government. This is the first article of the *Organic Law*<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> As it is impossible to understand the present ecclesiastical and

But to return to the Madeleine. This magnificent fresco is a public exhibition of the humiliation to which the Church, both Gallican and Papal, was reduced by the French Emperor; and it seems like an act of divine retribution upon France, that this display, so degrading to all the parties concerned, should be blazoned forth with such pomp in this the greatest and most recent edifice which the French nation has erected, nominally, in honour of the Christian religion. In the upper part of the painting are the most sacred objects of the Christian faith. This church was recently consecrated by the Archbishop of Paris.

At three o'clock, when we entered it, we found a respectable congregation, though small for the size of the building, seated upon chairs, listening to the preacher, Mon. le Vicaire Vidal, who had just commenced his discourse. He was dressed in a white tunic, with a black round cape thrown over it, so that he united both the black of the gown and the white of the surplice in his preaching attire. Running across the church, not far from the entrance, was a wooden barrier, through which an entrance was obtained by paying a toll of three sous, which entitled the payer also to the use of a chair. The sermon,

civil condition of France without constant reference to the *Gallican Articles* of 1682, the *Concordat* and *Organic Law* of 1802, and the *Charte* of 1830, I have printed them below in the notes (at end of volume) to p. 8.

delivered entirely without book, was pronounced with a distinct, slow, and emphatic voice, with a good deal of easy action. The preacher held his black cap in one hand. His subject was the simplicity, dignity, and authority of our Lord's character and mission. There was nothing like argumentative reason, or of powerful eloquence. The sermon consisted of a series of reflections expressed in polished and harmonious language; it seemed to be designed for an audience which required to be taught the vanity of philosophical scepticism.

On coming out of the division of the church where the audience was, I met an English damsel who could not speak French, and was very much puzzled when the *huissier* asked her for the three sous entrance money; and in reply, she held out her hand with one *sou* in it, which seemed to be all she had: happening to have two sous at hand, I had the pleasure of making the way easy to her through the *barrière* into the centre of the church. There is what they call an *instruction* in this church at half-past six o'clock in the morning, and at eight in the evening, on Sundays and feast-days. The *huissier* said, that the preacher whom we heard was not one of their first-rate orators, that this was not *la belle saison* for pulpit eloquence, but that we should probably hear something good if we came to this church on the fifteenth of this month, which is the Feast of the Assumption. On going out I observed a notice

attached to the wall, requesting all persons *de ne pas crâcher sur le pavé et sur les marbres de l'église.*

After the English service, walked to Bishop Luscombe's, No. 19, Rue des Vignes, Champs Elysées. The Bishop spoke with great interest of Bishops Gleig and Jolly, whose portraits he has, and also many of their letters. It is to be hoped, that the materials he possesses for the biography of Bishop Jolly, whose history belongs to the records of primitive Christianity, on account of the devout simplicity of his character, may not be lost.

Heard it stated of the French servants of an English family, that when told that they might have fish, &c., instead of meat, on their *jours maigres*, they had, with one exception, always declined to avail themselves of the privilege, alleging that, *Lorsqu'on est chez les hérétiques, il faut faire comme les hérétiques.*

Walked home to our hôtel (Hôtel de Tours, Place de la Bourse), through the Champs Elysées, at about ten o'clock in the evening ; found the people amusing themselves there among the trees with a great variety of diversions, riding on wooden horses and roundabouts, darting at rings with a foil as they rode (like the figures in the Etruscan tombs) ; even women were so engaged, and swinging in the air in painted ships, &c. Indeed, if there existed a law *enjoining* the Sunday to be celebrated with all kinds of sports and gaieties, the Parisian population would be one of

the most obedient in the world. It must, however, be said, that the churches are much better attended, especially by the middle classes, than they were ten years ago; but it is said, on the other hand, that shops are more rarely closed on that day now than formerly. We saw very little difference in this respect between Saturday and Sunday.

On Monday went to the other, *the south* side of the Seine, with the intention in the first instance of being present at a *séance* of the Chamber of Deputies, but on arriving half-an-hour after the session had commenced, we found that the parliament had just been prorogued for the present year. The question which occupied it for this half-hour, was that which now agitates the minds of all the journalists of France and their readers, viz. the treatment which an English consul, Mr. Pritchard, has received from two French officers at the antipodes. It is clearly evident that the wounded pride and jealousy of France with respect to England is only very thinly scarred over, and that it would take very little to re-open the wound in its most aggravated form:—*hæret lateri lethalis arundo.*

After a walk along the Quai de Voltaire eastward, we took a cabriolet *à l'heure* (the price per hour is a franc and a half for the first hour, and for the following hours a franc and a quarter, and the fractions of the last hour are calculated at this latter rate); we here began a course in this *quartier*, viz.:

that of the Faubourg St. Germain, where many of the literati, professors, and old aristocracy reside, for the purpose of delivering some letters of introduction. We called in the first instance on Monsieur Auguste Bonnetty, 24, Rue St. Guillaume; he is a *Directeur* of the *Université Catholique*, a religious periodical, and of another called *Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*, which are supported by contributors among the leading ecclesiastics and religious laity of France; he has also literary correspondence at Rome, and among the Roman Catholic clergy of England; he has passed some time at Rome, and also at Oscott. We found him at home, in a room well furnished with books, (which I observed to be editions of the Fathers of the Church, and other ecclesiastical works. There was a new, and apparently elaborate edition of Tertullian, with notes and various readings,) and a crucifix: I have since observed the crucifix as the companion of private study in another place. Monsieur Bonnetty kindly offered to call upon me the next day, and introduce me to the keepers of the MSS. at the royal library. I next called upon the Abbé Jager, who is professor of ecclesiastical history at the Sorbonne, and who had a theological controversy ten years ago with Mr. Newman, which was printed in the *Univers*, the leading religious newspaper of France. He was, unfortunately, in the country, but will probably return to Paris before we leave it. The same was the case with Monsieur Martin

Noirlieu, curé of the parish of St. Jacques, and formerly preceptor to the Duc de Bordeaux. Next went in quest of Monsieur Jules Gondon, one of the *Rédacteurs* of the newspaper, the *Univers*, now the principal organ of the church party in France. He was at home, and gave me a very courteous reception. Shortly after my entrance there came in *à propos* a priest, one of the professors of the great theological seminary of St. Sulpice, (in the *Place*, and near the church of that name,) with whom, at Monsieur Gondon's instance, I made an engagement to visit the seminary on Thursday next, August 8th. Monsieur Gondon spoke with a great deal of interest about Dr. Pusey and *Les Tractes*, and the British Critic, the last numbers of which he has on his shelves: it is evident that hopes are entertained in France of a *rapprochement* between the English and Gallican Churches, and Monsieur Gondon himself has just published a volume entitled "*Mouvement religieux en Angleterre; ou, le Retour de l'Eglise Anglicane à l'Unité.*"

I have been much interested by conversations with Monsieur Gondon on this and subsequent occasions; his language was very explicit with respect to the présent position and feeling of the Clergy in France. The Bishops, it is well known, are all nominated by the king, but the Pope has the power of refusing his sanction to the nomination, a power which he has sometimes been known to exercise.

But what is very remarkable is, that notwithstanding this royal prerogative, there are not two bishops in France who are not ultramontanes, that is, entirely devoted to the interests of the *Roman See*<sup>2</sup>. This has arisen from the almost entire demolition of the French Church as a *national* establishment; and the real gainer by this extinction of the Gallican Church, as such, is *Rome*; although that destruction was brought about by principles hostile to Rome, and to Christianity in general.

- In France, at present, we see on one side the French clergy and the Pope, and on the other the majority in the chambers, and the throne: the latter unfortunately driven by suspicion of, and antipathy to the clergy, into a state of practical opposition to Christianity, and resting for its support on principles not of sound reason and religion, but of a vain and arrogant philosophy, which tends to the destruction of monarchy, and to the dissolution of social order. It is said to be the opinion of the higher powers in

<sup>2</sup> Les Evêques français qui ont professé, ou qui peuvent professer encore, les opinions gallicanes, (qui, après tout, ne sont que des *opinions*,) ne sont pas pour cela moins dévoués aux intérêts du Saint-Siège que les Ultramontains. Le Gallicanisme n'a jamais prétendu transformer l'Eglise de France en un *établissement national*, dans le sens qu'on attache à ces mots en Angleterre. S'ils avaient eu cette témérité, Rome les eût aussitôt déclaré schismatiques. Grâce à Dieu, la France catholique n'a pas à rougir d'un Henri VIII.; et quelqueait été le dévouement de Bossuet à Louis XIV., il n'eût jamais poussé la complaisance jusqu'à mériter l'éloge qu'Henri VIII. a fait de Cranmer.



France, that religion *was* of great service as a political and moral engine, as long as the people were ill-instructed, and while the science of legislation was little understood, but now that constitutions and codes have been *perfectionnés* by human experience and skill, Christianity has become obsolete as a safeguard of political institutions, and a religious foundation is no longer necessary to the fabric of government. Certain it is that the throne of France has at present no religious basis ; and that the Church has not only been almost wholly severed from the State, but after a very few years from that severance, which took place in 1830, finds itself placed in a condition of direct and active opposition to it.

Monsieur Gondon kindly sends us the *Univers* daily ; he says that the *Quotidienne* is no longer a catholic paper, as such, i. e., that it treats religious questions rather *politically* than *religiously*<sup>4</sup> ; it is still, however, more favourable to the Church than its contemporaries. The *Univers* seems to be written with considerable vigour.

Dining this evening, Aug. 5th, with an English family, heard of a young man of high rank, rapidly rising in the English navy, who had been induced to renounce his profession, as contrary to the divine

<sup>4</sup> La *Quotidienne* a toujours été et est encore un journal dont l'esprit est très catholique. J'ai dit qu'elle n'est pas un journal religieux dans le sens, qu'elle est avant tout l'organe d'un parti politique. La *Quotidienne* est le principal organe du parti légitimiste.

law, and to join the Plymouth Brethren. This is by no means a solitary case—what is the remedy? I see none, but in *Church* education in our middle and aristocratic schools. People object to this kind of education as too *dogmatic* (as they call it) for young persons. But the whole practice of the Christian Church since its foundation, has been to give her children a *dogmatic* education. Look at all the sermons of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom to young people, they are essentially *dogmatic*. Look at the *creeds*, on which those sermons chiefly treat, they are a collection of dogmas. “No, but” (our anti-dogmatic teachers say,) “*they* will not prejudice the minds of young people; put the *Bible* into their hands, and let them find out the truth for themselves.” “Yes, by all means, put” (I reply) “the Bible into their hands as soon as they are able to treat it with due reverence; but, as you value the Bible, give them for its interpretation the aid of the Church, which the Bible declares to be ‘the pillar and the ground of the truth.’ If a child is to be left alone with the Bible—without any help from the Church—what reason in the world is there why his mind should not run through all the heresies which have been condemned by the Church from her foundation? and if you are willing to allow that he will require help, why should he not have it, both the earliest and the best?”

A gentleman at dinner, a strong Conservative,

of diplomatic and literary reputation, spoke in very strong terms of the dangers to which, in his opinion, England was now exposed, from the adoption, or at least the encouragement, on the part of the State, of the voluntary principle in matters of religion. He saw no other result from this than a total separation of Church and State, and an indiscriminate national acknowledgment of *all* forms of religious belief. This is *precisely* the condition of things in France at this day, and its *results* in this country render it peculiarly interesting to an Englishman, who sees the unhappy tendency of England to follow in the steps of France.

The public buildings and social gaieties of Paris are apt to dazzle the sight and absorb the thoughts ; and Englishmen have not, I think, profited so much by visits to the French capital in a religious, moral, and political point of view, as might have been the case.

Tuesday, August 6.—Monsieur Bonnetty called and carried me to the Bibliothèque du Roi, to examine the MSS. of Theocritus, of which there are more than twenty in that collection. I have now (Saturday, 10th) looked through one-fourth of that number, and do not find that they are of very great antiquity ; none, as far as I have yet seen, older than the 15th century, or the end of the 14th. He introduced me to Monsieur Hase, member of the Academy of Inscriptions, and *chef* of the MSS. department of the

library: and to Monsieur E. Miller, who has a post in the same department, and is the editor of several classical works and also of a valuable review, (*Revue de Bibliographie Analytique*,) which gives a short analysis of the most important publications which appear in France and foreign countries.

Nothing can exceed the facility afforded to students for the consultation of MSS. in this magnificent collection, and one is almost tempted to forget that it has been formed in a great measure from the spoils of the Benedictine and other abbeys confiscated at the great revolution. The MSS. library is open every day except Sundays and the four great feast days, from ten to three o'clock, and it is an agreeable sight to see so much quiet study as is presented here, after the din of the Parisian streets.

Wednesday, August 7.—Walked to 13 bis, Rue Monsieur, to call upon the head of the Benedictine order, Dom Guéranger, abbé de Solesmes; found him in a house which they have taken provisionally as a step to the new settlement of the order at Paris. The members of the monastic orders are here like sailors after a shipwreck, endeavouring to collect their scattered freight, and to embark afresh, should circumstances prove favourable. Dom Guéranger is the successor and representative of the great Benedictines, the Montfaucons, Mabillons, Martianays, Sabatiers, and Delarues, of the 17th and 18th centuries, and is said to fill very worthily the place

which he holds. He is the author of a work on Christian liturgies (*Institutions Liturgiques*), which has received very favourable notice in the "British Critic," with which he was much pleased. He was sitting in his Benedictine robe of black cloth or stuff, with a hood (for the head), with an array of books before him. He received us very courteously; the address of these higher *religieux* is very prepossessing, but I have been struck with the sad and down-cast countenances of the inferior members: no doubt they have had much to suffer, and have little to hope, from this world. They rarely leave their monastic houses in their conventual dress; indeed, they are not protected, and hardly tolerated by the law. The *Jesuits*, as such, are positively prohibited. While we were conversing, one of the brotherhood silently entered the room, and knelt down on the right hand of the superior, with his arms crossed over his breast, but without saying anything. Dom Guéranger put out his right hand and gave his benediction to the kneeling monk, by making upon him the sign of the cross, saying at the same time:—" *Vous sortez, n'est-ce pas ?*" To which the other replied in the affirmative, and left the room as quietly as he had entered it. It is well known that to the three common monastic vows, the Benedictines add a profession of literary study. I spoke to the Superior of the communication which had formerly been carried on between England, especially Cambridge through

Dr. Bentley, and the Benedictines of the congregation of St. Maur in the 18th century, and inquired whether they had the means of cultivating theological studies in the same manner as their predecessors at that period? He said that they had great difficulties to contend with, from the loss of their libraries and destruction of their monastic buildings; but he referred to the new French edition of Tertullian, mentioned above, which is due to the Benedictines. France generally, he said, is doing much for the promotion of sacred literature. Two Parisian publishers, Gaume and the abbé Migne, have done more than all the booksellers in Europe in this century, for the advancement of patristic learning. Migne's *Thesaurus theologiæ completus*, in twenty-seven large octavo volumes, at five francs a volume, has had a most extensive sale: Monsieur Bonnetty says there were 15,000 printed.

Visited a French Ecclesiastic Regular of great learning and reputation. He seemed much interested in the condition of Church affairs in England, and appeared to entertain some hopes of the religious union of France and England. Unhappily the tendency towards Rome, and the renunciation of every thing that is national in ecclesiastical jurisdiction\*, is becoming every day more and more visible in

\* La France n'a jamais eu de juridiction ecclésiastique nationale, ou, plutôt, la nation a accepté celle de l'Eglise universelle.

France among the clergy ; and this will be an insuperable obstacle to such a union. This was evident from the language he held with respect to the Gallican Church, and its conduct towards the papacy at the council of Trent, and in the age of Bossuet, and of the four articles of the Gallican liberties ; and later still, with respect to the communications between Dupin and Archbishop Wake. He made no scruple of asserting, that the so-called Gallican liberties were nothing but secular encroachments on the spiritualities of the Roman see on the part of the crown and parliaments of France ; and he renounced the opinions of Dupin, and of the other Gallicans, as schismatical, and injurious to the Divine claims of the Pope as the centre of unity. He allowed that the Gallican Church, as such, had ceased to exist, and he did not seem to regret that such was the case. When I stated one or two of the common objections to Rome being, *jure divino*, the centre of unity, the arguments by which he met them were, I was surprised to find, almost purely theoretical. For instance, when I referred to our Lord's words, concerning the *twelve* apostolic thrones, and I might have added, the *twelve* apostolic stones of the Revelation, as showing a *parity* among the apostles, and no *superiority* in any one individual member of the college, he replied, that this was *prophetic* of the triumphant state of the Church only, and had no reference to its condition in this world.

Again, when I alluded to the words, "the kings of the Gentiles, &c.; but it shall *not* be so with you, but let him that is greatest among you be as he that serveth. One is your master, and *all ye are brethren*;" he replied, that the inference from this *was*, that there was to be *one* '*greatest*' among them. Also on my referring to the presidency of St. James, and not of St. Peter, in the council of Jerusalem, he answered, that the decree of the council was made in accordance with the language of St. Peter. Further, when I instanced the fact of St. Paul rebuking St. Peter publicly, and asked whether this could be reconciled with the theory of St. Peter's supremacy? he replied, that the case of St. Paul, as an apostle, was a very peculiar one; and that his conduct might, perhaps, be explained on the principles of the great duty of fraternal correction; besides, he added, that some difference of opinion, alluding to St. Jerome's notion that St. Paul was not in *earnest*, had been entertained concerning this point. I reminded him that the Benedictines in their recent edition of St. Augustine, had given up St. Jerome's opinion, and shown that he (St. Jerome) himself had retracted it.

When I next referred to the case of St. Cyprian, excommunicated by Pope Stephanus, and asked whether it could be supposed that St. Cyprian ceased to be in the Church when out of communion with Rome? he alleged, first, that Stephanus maintained the true



Catholic doctrine in his controversy with St. Cyprian, which was doubtless the case ; and next, that there was room for doubt, whether Cyprian *was* ever excommunicated at all, and he referred to a recent publication as one of great learning on this subject. And when, further, I mentioned the expressions of Firmilian, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia, to the same Pope Stephanus, *Lites quantas parāsti per Ecclesias mundi, peccatum quam magnum exaggerāsti quando te a tot gregibus scidisti, excidisti enim teipsum !* as a plain proof that Pope Stephanus had proceeded to an act of excommunication ; he at first questioned the genuineness of that epistle, and then, supposing it genuine, made no scruple of rejecting the authority of Firmilian as of no importance whatever, even on a matter of *fact* !

I have been struck, by the way, with this capricious rejecting of authority by Romish ecclesiastics, even in the same breath with which they charge Protestants with a wanton exercise of private judgment of which they of the Church of England, at least, are no more guilty than the Church of Rome<sup>6</sup>. He seemed

<sup>6</sup> Les Catholiques ont plus de liberté que toutes les sectes chrétiennes pour exercer le *jugement privé*, parce qu'ils peuvent l'exercer en toute sûreté dès qu'ils admettent un tribunal infaillible qui prononce au dernier ressort. Les ecclésiastiques ne soumettent jamais à leur raison personnelle que les questions laissées par la sagesse du Saint-Siège ouvertes à la controverse. Une autre réflexion : comment invoquer l'autorité de l'Eglise quand on raisonne avec un Protestant qui ne l'admet pas ?

to me to afford another instance of this practice, when I said that we, of the English Church, revered the same fundamental principles of Christianity as himself; that we venerated the sacred Scriptures; that we received the three Creeds, and the first four general Councils; that we acknowledged universal primitive tradition as the channel of evangelical truth and of apostolic order; that we accepted the holy Orders and Baptism of the Church of Rome, and recognized the Church of Rome to be an apostolic Church, and the Bishop of Rome as holding an apostolic see; that *we had not separated ourselves* from the Church of Rome, but *had been excommunicated by it* because we would not—and *could not*—submit to her unscriptural terms of communion; and that we would gladly acknowledge and revere the Bishop of Rome as the successor of St. Peter ought to be revered, *provided* he would act in the spirit of St. Peter, and of the ancient Bishops of Rome; and that we should be glad to meet him, and all true Catholics, on the common ground of the apostolic age of Christianity. To all which he rejoined, that *we*, “Protestants, had very exaggerated notions of what *they*, Catholics, accorded to the Roman see. For example, they had no faith, he said, in the Pope’s *personal* infallibility even as Pope; they did not regard him as a revealer of the Divine will; that it would be absurd to suppose that God would work a perpetual miracle to preserve even the Bishop of Rome from error; he was only the

guardian and interpreter of the tradition of the Church." When I expressed my doubt whether this was the *Pope's* own view of his own powers, and referred to the Bishop of Rome's unequivocal claims of spiritual and temporal supremacy in his *Jus Canonicum*, he said, that the decrees of the canon law were valid with respect to *discipline*, but were of no weight in contravention of the *dogmatic* principles of the Church. This seemed to me another exercise of *private judgment* on his part, surpassing any ever made use of by any sound and enlightened Protestant.

The distinction between doctrine and discipline<sup>1</sup>, which appears to give much scope for illusions, (for who can define where doctrine ends; and discipline begins?) is the common resort of Roman controversialists, when pressed with the fact of the non-acceptance in France of some of the decrees of the Council of Trent, and of the famous Bull, *In Cœna Domini*. Their rejoinder is, that the *dogmatic* canons have always been received here, and that the non-reception applies to the *disciplinarian* ones alone. However, this exception is scarcely necessary at present, for with the dissolution of the Gallican Church the council of Trent has now gained universal supremacy in this country; and the temporal claims of the Bulls, *In Cœna Domini*, and *Unam Sanctam*, &c., are reserved by the papacy for a convenient

<sup>1</sup> See Note to p. 26, at end.

season, and that, probably, in her own estimation at least, not very distant.

My host spoke with much praise of the labours of English theologians, especially Bishop Pearson, in the illustration of Christian antiquity. He expressed an earnest desire to see a complete English edition of the works of the Venerable Bede; he evidently wished the Church of England to be in the same position as it was in Bede's age, and he employed a kind of theological *sorites* to prove that it *ought* to be so. "You profess," he said, "a reverence for the apostolic Fathers; you respect, therefore, their immediate successors, Ignatius, Irenæus, Cyprian, and therefore Augustine, therefore Gregory the Great, therefore Augustine of Canterbury—and where will you stop? You *must* come to Bede, and Alcuin, and Becket, for which last he professed unbounded admiration, if you are true to your own principles, and you must come at length to what we are, and to what Rome is at the present day." (This soritic reasoning, by the way, is what Cicero calls *captiosissimum genus argumentandi*.) I told him we should be happy to do so as far as Holy Scripture allowed us; but we could not find there that there exists any authority independent of a direct Revelation, and none such was now to be expected, to propound articles of faith *not found in Scripture*, and *still less in opposition to it*. He said that Rome was disposed to make all advances towards us that she could consistently do;

she was willing, as he expressed it, "to *open her arms* to us, but she could not *move her feet*." He asked my opinion of the real presence; and when I had told him that the Church of England, in her Catechism, teaches that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper, but that she did not venture to determine in what manner they were there present, but that it was not her opinion that they were there present in a *bodily* substance,—“Well, sir,” he said, “it is a satisfaction to converse on these topics, and to find that there are so many points in common between us, and I may say in the language of St. Augustine, that although you are not *du corps de l'Eglise*, *vous êtes bien de l'ÂME*.”

I have omitted to mention, that before this visit I went to a large establishment of French missionaries, especially designed for China and the East Indies, (Rue de Bac, No. 120,) where I saw one of the principal among them, the director, le Père Dubois, a very venerable person, of great vigour and spirit, and eighty years of age, whose room looked into a beautiful garden, and was hung with a kind of arras representing Chinese scenes; his great heroes among the British nation were Father Mathew and Daniel O'Connell. This is the common feeling in France, in the religious world at least. He appeared to take special pleasure in contrasting, with a tone of gentle irony, the difference between himself and

the *English* missionaries whom he had met in the east.—“While he,” he said, “had to maintain himself, a horse, and two or three attendants, for about fifty francs a month; they received handsome stipends for themselves, their wives, and children, and enjoyed all the luxuries of life.”

*Thursday, Aug. 8.*—Went to-day, with M. Gondon, to the great ecclesiastical Seminary, or clerical College of St. Sulpice; on the way thither, he gave me an account of the constitution of the French University, *Université Royale de France*, and its relations to the Government, the Church, and the country. The University is a creation of Napoleon<sup>s</sup>, 1806—1810; and it may be described as existing every where and yet no where, for it has no one special *locale* like our Universities, and yet it exercises a domineering influence over the whole of France, which is divided, in all matters connected with education, into twenty-seven *Academies*, that of Paris being the principal, on which the others depend. The University has the sole power of conferring degrees, and exercises the right of inspection and controul over almost all the schools of France, with the exception of those specially destined for Ecclesiastics, and called *seminaries*, which, however, have *no power* of conferring degrees, even in *theology*. The Univer-

<sup>s</sup> Il sera formé (said the Emperor) sous le nom d'*Université* un corps chargé *exclusivement* de l'enseignement et de l'éducation publiques dans toute la France.

sity is entirely under the controul of the Government, that is, of the Minister of public instruction, now M. Villemain, peer of France, and *Grand Maître de l'Université*, who appoints all the professors, and delivers all the diplomas for degrees. Such being its constitution the result is, that of its five faculties, theology, law, medicine, sciences, and letters, that of theology has almost ceased to exist. The professors of theology being nominated by the minister, (approved, however, by the archbishop,) and the clergy having no confidence in the instruction given by the university, few ecclesiastics resort to it for theological study; and no theological decrees are now, therefore, conferred in France\*.

I have said that the University has no special *locale*, but it has a kind of domicile at the *Sorbonne*, where examinations are held for degrees, and which is, as it were, the centre or *chef lieu* of the University. The *Écoles de Droit* and *de Médecine* are distinct buildings, but belong to the University; and amphitheatres for lectures, &c., are contained in them.

\* Les ecclésiastiques ont toute confiance dans l'enseignement théologique des facultés, vu que cet enseignement ne peut être confié qu'à des membres du clergé désignés par l'évêque du diocèse. La véritable raison de la décadence des facultés de théologie, c'est que les évêques préfèrent faire instruire les aspirants au sacerdoce dans les grands séminaires que de les envoyer suivre des cours au dehors. Les grands séminaires remplacent les facultés de théologie, mais ne peuvent pas donner des grades aux étudiants. Les facultés de théologie n'ont été reconstituées que dans un très-petit nombre de diocèses.

Here, to-day, at the Sorbonne, we found in one of the upper rooms a considerable number of persons seated on benches, listening to the examination of a youth of about nineteen, for the degree of Bachelor of Letters (*Bachelier des Lettres*). In front of the audience was a long table, covered with green cloth, with a great number of small volumes upon it, at which were sitting four Examiners with their faces towards the audience; and on the other side of it the examinee, with his back to them, and his face to the Examiners. The Examiners wore no gowns, nor other academic badge, nor did the examinee; he was seated as well as they. The examination was *viva voce*.

One of the Examiners was M. St. Marc-Girardin, professor of French poetry at the University, and member of the Chamber of Deputies, and of the French Academy; another was M. Victor Le Clerc, dean of the Faculty of Letters, and member of the Institute. The first-named Examiner, with a little book in his hand, which was a manual of the heads of the subjects for examination, was inquiring of the youth, "Who were the principal dramatic poets of Greece?" next, quoting Horace, *Eupolis atque Cratinus Aristophanesque Poetæ, Atque alii, &c.*, he asked the student the difference between the New and Old Attic Comedy: to which the youth replied that "*one came after the other*;" on which the Examiner rejoined, "*On conçoit bien que Mardi vient après Lundi*," which made the audience laugh.



He then proceeded to ask him some questions in French geography, and Cæsar's invasion of Gaul; then about Henri III. of France; and then the youth was delivered over to another Examiner, who interrogated him concerning the Divine attributes, and how man came to know them, which he said was "by reason;" and immediately after a third Examiner took him in hand with some questions on decimal fractions.

I procured the little book containing the programme of all that a young man ought to know in order to become Bachelor of Letters, which shows that he should be possessed of a smattering of an infinite number of things; and I saw a small thick volume in its thirteenth or fourteenth edition, which contains short answers to all the possible questions proposed by the University, and presents the most perfect specimen I ever met with of what we at Cambridge should call *cram*.

The degree of Bachelor of Letters is the *first* in the French course; every candidate for it must be at least sixteen years of age, (some are much more,) and must bring a certificate that he has studied rhetoric and philosophy, for a year at least, *in one of the Colleges authorized by the State*. The only exception to this is when the candidate has been educated in the house of his father, uncle, or brother, or in a clerical seminary; but in this latter case the degree is of no use except as a stepping-stone to *theological* degrees, and not to literary or scientific ones. Be-

sides the *viva voce* examination, which we witnessed, there are two previous ones, one consisting of translation into Latin (Latin Dictionaries are allowed to the candidates), the other of *explication*, as it is called, of different passages of Greek, Latin, and French authors. Two hours are allowed for the Latin version, and three quarters of an hour only for the *explication viva voce*, respectively.

Each candidate pays to the University twenty-four francs for the right of being examined, and if he is approved, thirty-six more for his diploma. There is a very complicated process for drawing lots for the questions of examination, and a great variety of formalities are gone through to prevent collusion between the examiners and the candidates, and to obviate fraud on the part of the competitors; which does not impress one very favourably with respect to the moral dignity and sense of honour of the parties concerned.

We afterwards visited the great Ecclesiastical Seminary belonging to the Congregation of *St. Sulpice*. The building is very spacious and regular, but not venerable. In the *parloir*, as it is called, we were met by two of the Professors, one of moral theology, the other of oriental languages, who conducted us, in the first instance, to the apartment of one of them, a simple and modest chamber tolerably well supplied with ecclesiastical books.

There was a considerable number of Students

dressed in their long black cloth cassocks (*soutanes*), in the court of the building. The system of education is confessedly not very profound, from the great present demand for clergy in France, and from the consequent necessity of making the course of their professional training as expeditious as possible. For instance, there is no regular course of ecclesiastical history.

This is the archiepiscopal seminary for the diocese of Paris, and together with its country house at Issy educates 220 clerical students. The students appeared to be about nineteen years of age; they never quit the precincts of the College without permission; they rise at five o'clock in the morning, and remain for an hour in silent meditation (without books) on some religious subject which has been proposed the night before; they then listen to the reading of Scripture for a stated time, upon their knees; they attend mass daily; and breakfast follows, which is merely bread. Then comes a lecture of an hour; and at twelve o'clock they dine. During dinner, at certain seasons, the students exercise themselves by turns in *preaching*; and the professors make critical observations publicly on the sermons, pointing out their defects, and collauding their excellences. It is well known to be the usual habit of the French clergy to learn their sermons by heart. The professors said that many preach from short-hand notes only. They mentioned the sermons of

Père Mc Arthy with special praise (he is no longer living) ; and the eloquence of the Jesuit, Père de Ravignan, and the Dominican, Lâcordaire, attracted immense crowds, especially of young men, to Nôtre Dame, in the *carême* of the present year. The library of the seminary is a very respectable one ; it has been formed entirely since the great Revolution, all the literary property of the society (which was re-established at the Restoration) having been dispersed at that time. I observed a considerable number of books upon *Canon Law* ; and was informed, that although this department of jurisprudence has no authority in the civil courts, yet ecclesiastical causes are often decided, as the professor expressed it, by the bishops, *sine strepitu*, and then the canon law has its weight. It will, doubtless, have greater weight, in proportion as Gallicanism gives way to pure Romanism. There is a professor of canon law in this seminary.

Our companion, the professor of moral theology, on being asked some question with respect to reading the Scripture, drew forth from his pocket a small Latin New Testament, bound up with the *De Imitatione Christi*, and buttoned up in a cover of black cloth ; he said that it was one of their rules to carry that volume always about with them, adding, with evident satisfaction, that one of their order having been once asked by a Protestant minister, whether he studied the Bible ? brought forth out of his pocket

a volume of this kind, bearing evident marks of habitual perusal, and then asked the other if he could show him the like ; which he was unable to do.

This evening, dined with a dignified English clergyman, long resident in France, who complained bitterly of the great irregularities of French Protestant ministers and congregations at Paris. The pulpit of the church of the Oratoire is frequently occupied by teachers of Socinianism. Miserable indeed appears to be the condition to which the Lutherans and Calvinists in France are reduced. Unhappily too, in Paris, they are led by one or two persons of considerable ability and eloquence.

Bishop Luscombe has given me a copy of his pastoral letter just published, which throws much light on this subject : in it he deploras " the present state of the Protestants in France, particularly of those who belong to what is called the reformed Church ; their pastors (he says) are mostly rigid Calvinists, or are Socinians. The most opposite doctrine is the natural consequence, and is preached from *the same pulpits* ; on alternate Sundays preachers and congregations are changed—Lutheran and Reformed pastors exchange pulpits, thus giving proof of the laxity of their religious principles, and disregard of uniform doctrine and order, and of all that churchmen hold dear." The Bishop says, that in the organ of the (so-called) Reformed Church, the *Archives du Christianisme*, are numerous attacks upon the doctrine of

the Divine efficacy of the sacraments, and of the necessity of a duly ordained ministry for their administration. He has referred to the same subject in his essay on the True Church, translated into French, and dedicated to the King of Prussia. He found it necessary (I understand) to speak publicly on these matters, because many English parents, thinking all kinds of Protestantism to be equally good, are in the habit of taking their families to hear the preaching at the Oratoire; for, as they say, "in addition to the benefit of their hearing *a sermon*, it is such an excellent lesson of *French*!" He says that many of the French Protestant pastors in the provinces are much perplexed about their own position, and would gladly receive Episcopal Orders if they knew how to obtain them without adopting the errors of Rome.

*Friday, August 9.*—Went by the railroad, on the *rive gauche* of the Seine, to Versailles, where we spent a very agreeable afternoon from one to eight o'clock with a French literary friend of great ability. We drove round the park and walked in the gardens of the château, which are too well known to be described. Shortly after our entrance to the town an object struck us as new, indeed it has just been erected,—a statue to the abbé L'Epée, the famous teacher of the Sourds-muets, who was, I believe, born at Versailles. The clergy were invited to the *inauguration* of the statue, but as the abbé was a Jan-

senist, none of them would attend. Very near the château and the orangerie, a building was pointed out to us as being now under preparation for the reception of the Jesuits. The complaints against the clergy, which I heard strongly stated on this visit, are their want of learning, their encouragement of superstition from love of money and power, and their lack of patriotism.

The instruction of the clergy is certainly in a very unsatisfactory state; first, from the depression and impoverishment to which they have been reduced, and next, because all the literary and scientific institutions of the country, and all the encouragement there given to intellectual exertions, are virtually in the hands of the government, which looks with an unfriendly eye upon the clergy, and endeavours to keep them under a rigorous constraint. It is a consequence of the indigence of the clerical body, taken together with the peculiar tenets of Romanism, that they encourage very objectionable and superstitious modes of acquiring influence for themselves. As an instance of this, which now attracts a good deal of attention, and affords room not only for the scoffs of the profane, but scandalizes and alienates the reflecting, is the religious excitement which the priests are producing at Argenteuil, only two and a half leagues north of Paris, by means of exhibitions of, and subscriptions for, the pretended relic of the robe of our Lord, which a correspondent of the *Constitu-*

*tionnel*<sup>2</sup> says is believed to exist on equally authentic evidence, in two or three other places (at Treves, St. John Lateran, and Fribourg), besides Argenteuil. We heard of other instances, which seem to be the results of a blind superstition and of a reckless infatuation, affording the strongest arguments for scepticism, and the most powerful weapons against Religion and the Church. Again, as to the anti-nationality of the clergy, and especially the Jesuits, a friend of mine, a professor of history, stated to me to-day that he finds it necessary in his lectures to animadvert very severely on the anti-Gallican temper in which the Jesuits have treated French history, especially that of Napoleon's Russian campaign. But for this, perhaps, the country has in great measure to thank itself, for since she withholds all power and control from the Bishops of the Church in all matters of national education,—from the collegiate institution down to the smallest village

<sup>2</sup> *Le Constitutionnel* est une bien pauvre autorité ! Il est faux que la même robe existe dans plusieurs endroits à la fois ; mais on comprend sans un trop grand effort de raison que la robe de N. S. puisse se trouver à Argenteuil, que sa tunique puisse être à Trèves, et que Fribourg possède un morceau de la robe et de la tunique. Pour rendre une anecdote piquante, on devrait bien ne pas la dénaturer ; mais le *Constitutionnel* n'y regarde pas de si près.—Let me be allowed to refer the writer of this note to the following words of Pope Benedict XIV. De Festis, vii. 91. Christi tunica etiamnum asservari dicitur Augustæ Trevirorum (at Treves) ; Salmeron autem custodiri eam refert Argentolii, oppido hand longè a Lutetiâ Parisiorum dis-sito. The Pope therefore thought it was the same robe.



school,—and assigns the conduct of public instruction to persons, some of whom have publicly and professionally given expression to opinions hostile to Christianity and the Church ; and since the state pays indiscriminately the teachers of *various* religious communions, down even to *Jewish* rabbis—while the clergy of France know of no religion but *one*—it is not to be wondered at that their sympathies are rather with the Vatican than with the Tuileries, that their tendency is to regard themselves as ministers of the Church rather than as citizens of France, and that their energies are directed to support the chair of the successor of St. Peter, rather than the throne of the king of the French<sup>3</sup>.

That this is a very critical season for France cannot be doubted, and it is no less evident that a more critical one still will shortly ensue. No one seems able to divine what would happen on the decease of the present king,—an event which, humanly speaking, cannot be very far distant. France is now but little fit for a *monarchy*, and still less so for a *regency*. The Duc D'Orléans, had he survived, might, it is generally supposed, from the respect in which he was held, have been able to continue the existing dynasty, but not so it is thought will his brother the Duc de Nemours ; and there is evidently great difference

<sup>3</sup> Peut-on s'étonner que la chaire de Saint Pierre soit plus chère à des Catholiques que le trône d'un roi de la terre ?

between the capabilities of a regent and of a king. It was observed to me by my friend at Versailles (where so many sad reflections on French history naturally arise) as a fact which had sunk into the mind of the French nation, that since Louis XIV.—just 200 years ago—no son had succeeded his father on the throne of France, and that the heir to the crown had frequently been cut off by untimely death.

He added, that France was one of the most dangerous countries in the world for its rulers, and the most difficult to govern, because there is the greatest facility, from the cheapness of instruction, for transition from the lowest ranks of society to the highest : —“ My servant there,” he said, “ who has just left the room, thinks that there is no social position which, if circumstances are favourable, he may not reach. Look at the leading personages of the present government—why should not *any* young man, if he has ordinary industry and abilities, become a professor in a college, and why should not any professor become a Villemain, a Guizot, a Cousin, or a Thiers ? Hence there is no one of common powers and enterprise who does not think that the highest offices are open to him, especially in revolutionary times, and hence there is no repose or contentment, but a perpetual restlessness and agitation of mind in the social system of France, incessant disquietude for the present, and insatiable ambition for something higher ”

We returned to Paris as we had left it, by the railroad of the *rive gauche*, which has acquired an unhappy celebrity by its fatal accidents not long since. The carriages are of an inferior description, and their tremulous motion and the shocks occurring in their course do not inspire the traveller with much confidence in their security. The view of Paris from the railroad, which takes the high ground over Sèvres, &c., is beautiful and magnificent.

*Saturday, August 11.*—Went with Monsieur Gondon to No. 18, Rue des Postes, a building now occupied by the Jesuits, where they have a private chapel, a beautiful garden, and the other appurtenances of a monastic institution. After waiting in the *parloir* a few minutes, we were escorted up stairs into the private apartment of the Père Boulanger, who is Provincial of the Order in France. Ladies are not admitted beyond the *parloir* (or ante-room next the vestibule) in this and similar establishments. There are twenty-four Jesuits in this house. This was Saturday, and the provincial said it was a busy day with them, as, "*On se confesse tous les Samedis et on confesse les autres.*" He was, however, very courteous, and seemed desirous of detaining us as long as we could stay. He deplored the condition to which the Jesuits were reduced in France, and said they had no power of opening any school, or of giving any public instruction, but that still a number of persons resorted to them privately for counsel and

assistance. They are prohibited as an *Order*, and exist only here as individuals. He showed us the beautiful view of the garden out of his window, with the city of Paris just beyond it, and a large building close to the garden, which is rapidly rising at the public expense, for the reception of the Normal School for training masters, under Government, *i. e.* University inspection, which we suggested to him was intended as a defence of the Parisians against the movements of his Order<sup>4</sup>. There was little reason, he said, to fear the Jesuits now, as they were few in number, and were scattered about France in small companies, of which there were not more than twenty; but, he added, placing his hand upon two works which have just been published by two of his order in Paris, one entitled *De l'Institut des Jésuites*, by the famous Père de Ravignan; the other, in two volumes, specially against Messrs. Michelet, Quinet, &c., by le Père Cahour, with the title *Des Jésuites, par un Jésuite*: "You will here see, sir, what is to be said in behalf of the Jesuits, of whom the world in France speaks so ill." He took a pen and wrote a few words in the fly-leaves of these books, and kindly presented them to me.

After some conversation concerning the present state of Religion and the Church in England, he asked pleasantly, "When, sir, you come to have saints in England, and when you wish to canonize some of

<sup>4</sup> See note to p. 43, at end.

the great men of your country, for instance M ———, what will you be able to do for their canonization?" It was most probable, I replied, that we should send them to Rome.

The provincial is a vigorous, intelligent-looking man, of middle age and dark complexion; he wore the black cloth closely-fitting gown, or rather cassock of his order, which contrasts characteristically with the looser attire of the Benedictines, and seems to intimate their perpetual readiness for any enterprise and dispatch in any quarter of the globe at a moment's notice, while the Benedictines have a more quiescent and studious air in their costume and appearance. I observed in his apartment a small faldstool, or *prie-Dieu*, with a cushion at its feet, for purposes of private prayer and meditation. In the garden were several younger members of the order, walking about one by one in their religious dress, whose dark and ascetic countenance and figures struck me particularly, and the more so after the life and bustle of the Parisian streets.

Walked thence to the Pantheon, which, in inferior at least, is a more noble building even than the Madeleine. Alas! that by its *cruciform* shape it should record that it was *once* a church, and that *now* with its bare walls and desolate vacancy, and by the removal of the cross<sup>4</sup> that once crowned its cupola,

<sup>4</sup> This was taken down, and a tricolor flag put in its place, which was blown down by the wind, and has not been restored.

it should declare that it has *renounced* Christianity! and yet, that having so done, it should still be considered by the French nation as a worthy Mausoleum for those whom the national voice delighteth to honour! Alas, that this edifice, which has been compelled to apostatize from a Christian Church into a pagan temple, and which does not even merit its name of Pantheon, for it is a temple rather of *no* god than of *all* the gods, should be thought a suitable place for the interment of the departed intellectual, civil, and military heroes of this great country! Alas, also, that among them should be enshrined, in the silent chambers of the dead, beneath this magnificent fabric, and should be honoured with the most distinguished homage of national panegyric as benefactors of France and of the world, the two infidel Philosophers of Ferney and of Geneva! But to return—after visiting the Pantheon we called on our friend M. B——, whom we found at home. He showed us a book he had just received from Ireland, being Mr. Cooper's Lectures recently delivered in Dublin, "On the Slavery and Erastianism of the *Anglican* Church." I asked him what he thought of the Church in *France*, and of *its* relations to the State? He replied, that no doubt at *present* it was in a condition of bondage, but he looked forward to a more favourable era. He said that "the French Church had been made subservient to secular purposes by Louis XIV., that the Ecclesiastics of that period were

of a very obsequious character, and not remarkable for spirituality or virtue, but that now the dissolution of its State connection promised to give the Church more independence, and to augment its religious energy and usefulness."

Whether this result in either of the respects here noticed will ensue is still to be seen. With respect to the former of the two points, viz the dependent and paralyzed condition of the Church, it may be observed, that it is entirely destitute of any means of synodical deliberation or expression; that no meetings for Church purposes can take place, that even a document signed by five prelates concerning National Education, and forwarded by them to a minister of the Crown, was very recently stigmatized by the minister as an infraction of the law<sup>s</sup>! that the obsolete enactments of revolutionary times are now revived against the Church, as, for instance, the *ordonnance* against religious orders, which has just been carried into effect against the Carmelites at Tulle, without any previous notification to the Bishop; that the French Bishops cannot correspond with the Bishop of Rome except through the medium of the State; that the French Church has no churches for her worship, nor parsonage-houses for her ministers, nor cemeteries for her dead, for these all belong to the *civil* powers!—that she has no schools for her children, nor asylums for her orphans and widows,

<sup>s</sup> See note to p. 46, at end.

nor hospitals for her sick and aged, for these are under *State control* ! and thus, though *separated* from the State, she is under the most degrading *subjection* to it<sup>6</sup>.

Hence it is that the clergy find themselves in a state of direct opposition to the Government<sup>7</sup>, a condition of things which, instead of rendering them less of politicians and more devoted to their spiritual and pastoral duties, has involved them in the warfare of political controversy. The Bishops not being allowed to address the Crown or the Legislature by any official organs of their own (and there are no Bishops in the Chamber of Peers, nor ecclesiastics in the Chamber of Deputies), this I say being the case, the prelates of the Church appear now in public almost daily, one by one pouring out through the public press violent invectives against the ruling powers ; and thus the inferior clergy are brought into the political arena, either in support of their Bishops or else in opposition to them ; as, for instance, the Abbé Thions<sup>8</sup>, in his letter just published against his diocesan, the Bishop of Autun, on the subject of

<sup>6</sup> See Note to p. 47, at end.

<sup>7</sup> L'opposition ne se fait pas contre le gouvernement, mais contre les empiètements sur le domaine de la liberté religieuse, ou ses tentatives contre l'indépendance de l'Eglise.

<sup>8</sup> Il est inexact de dire que le clergé a fait de l'opposition. Le clergé s'est unanimement rangé du côté des évêques. L'Abbé Thions ne saurait représenter la plus petite fraction du clergé, puisqu'il n'a pas rencontré un seul adhérent.



national education. The parochial clergy, who are all *nominated* by their Bishops, and a large proportion of whom (that is, the *desservants*, or incumbents of the parishes called *succursales*, which resemble other parishes except in the inferiority of the stipend and in the *amovibilité* of their incumbents,) are *amovibles* at the will of their diocesans<sup>9</sup>; are, however, whether moveable or immoveable, almost all unanimous in support of their episcopal superiors.

It is not the object of this journal to refer by any direct application or parallel to the warnings which this state of things reads to us in England, but they are too striking and too numerous not to excite the most profound sentiments of gratitude on one hand to Divine Providence, and on the other *apprehension* as far as respects human agency, in the mind of every Englishman who contemplates with seriousness the condition of public affairs with respect to Education and the Church, first in this country, and then in his own. One of the greatest blessings which it has pleased Divine Providence to confer upon England is, that it has placed before her for her *warning* the example of France.

I inquired of my friend M. Gondon whether the Pope had recently exercised his veto on the royal nomination of Bishops in France. He replied that there occurred a very notable case a little while ago

<sup>9</sup> See Note to p. 48, at end.

The Queen's chaplain (*Aumônier de la Reine*) the Abbé Guillon, was named to a French bishopric by the Crown, but the Pope refused to grant him investiture, because he had performed funeral rites of the Church over the body of the famous constitutional Bishop, the Abbé Grégoire, who died excommunicate. A compromise seems, however, to have been afterwards made; for the *aumônier*, though debarred from the intended promotion, was subsequently honoured with the titular designation of *Bishop of Morocco*, which he now enjoys. He resides at Paris in possession of this and of various academic honours.

*Monday, August 12.*—M. A. Bonnetty accompanied us to a *distribution des prix* at a school, *Institution Mourice*, Rue St. Jacques, No. 277. I was surprised to see on the platform assigned to the *grandees* so many as eight or ten ecclesiastics in their clerical dress; but we learned afterwards that this school distinguishes itself from the far greater number of such establishments at Paris, by seeking the countenance of the *clergy*, and by placing itself under their influence. The master is a layman, and the religious instruction of the school, as is usual in French schools, is confided to a clergyman, who has generally some additional parochial duty, and is styled *Aumônier* or *Chaplain* of the school. Here is a division of secular and spiritual function in teaching, which runs through the whole system of French education. In the great colleges or schools of Paris, as, for instance, that of

Louis le Grand, (of which more by-and-by,) the head is called the *Proviseur du Collège*, who has no ecclesiastical character or function, and the *religious* management of it falls into the hands of four *aumôniers*, two for the Roman Catholic, and two for the Protestant students.

But to return to the *Institution Mourice*. This is one of the 120 schools at Paris for the upper classes, which are authorized by the University of France, and are under its control; no such school can be formed without its sanction, given by the Minister of Public Instruction; and these minor schools are required to send their pupils above ten years of age to attend the classes of the *great State Colleges* or Government Schools of Paris, at the same time with, and in addition to, the studies which they pursue in these private establishments. Each master of a private school pays also to the University a certain sum (45 francs) as capitation-tax on each of his pupils.

The company, on this occasion, consisting mainly of parents and friends of the scholars, was placed on benches in front of the platform under an awning in a large court. The boys were arranged on each side of the dignitaries, who were seated on velvet-cushioned and gilded arm-chairs. The master, M. Mourice, in plain dress, without gown or any academic badge, stood on the right side of the platform, near a table covered with prize books, such as

Dictionaries, French Tales, Choix de Lettres de Madame de Sevigné, &c.

The boys opened the proceedings with vocal music—a French song with chorus; military musicians were in attendance, who took an active part. One of the boys then stepped forward on the platform, and welcomed the company with a few sentences in French. I observe once for all, that the enunciation of the boys was very rapid and low, producing the impression very much of a task said off to a master, and without animation or expression by gesture or emphatic articulation.

Next came a dialogue between three of the boys, one asking the other for an account of what he had learned in the school quarter which was just expiring, this being the day before the vacation—"Eh bien! Mons. Jean, qu'est-ce que vous avez appris, et qu'est-ce que vous a donné le plus grand plaisir de toutes vos études?" each of the boys holding in his hand a cahier of paper on which his part of the dialogue was written, but repeating it by heart. Mons. Jean replied that he had derived the greatest benefit and pleasure from the instructions he had received in the *Catéchisme* from the venerable Abbé Gabriel, their *aumônier*, and he then launched forth into a panegyric on the course of study in this department, and on its advantages.

Then came similar dialogues concerning the uses of the ancient languages, philosophy, history, chemistry,

drawing, botany, &c., each boy eulogizing his favourite study, something after the manner of Piscator, Venator, and Auceps, in the Complete Angler ; or as if we might imagine so many different Pinnock's Catechisms turned into little boys of from twelve to fifteen years of age dressed in the school uniform of blue jackets and gilt buttons peculiar to the institution.

Then came an address in French from the *aumônier*, the Abbé Gabriel himself, a fine, dignified-looking ecclesiastic, which he delivered with a very expressive voice and graceful gesture. This speech was *not read* ; its object was to show the necessity of *religion* as the basis of education, and it was an eloquent *exposé* of the power and dignity which poetry, eloquence, and the fine arts had derived from Christianity. He illustrated this by reference to the examples of Bossuet, Fénelon, and Michael Angelo, and of some French poet whose name I did not catch ; and I could not think to myself what poet he could select in France in proof of his argument, unless it be one of the Racines, or perhaps Delille or Lamartine. He concluded with an address to the *mères Chrétiennes* there present, congratulating them on the good training which their children received in this institution, and bearing a high testimony to the learning and piety of its director, M. Mourice, who confirmed all that was said in his favour by his pleasing countenance and unaffected manners. M. Mourice was originally an artisan of Paris, and attracted the notice

of a priest, who instructed him and led him to study the Oriental languages. Shortly after this address, was a speech something of the same character, read by one of the clergy of the parish.

Then came the distribution of the prizes,—M. Mourice reading the names, then the successful boys coming either to the *aumônier* or to one of the other ecclesiastics (not to the *master*), to receive their prize from him, in giving which he placed on their head a crown of *papier-mâché*, or some such material, with gilded leaves for the best, and green leaves and blue flowers for the *oi πολλοί* who followed. These wreaths were taken from a large basket which stood near the table. Then the distributor of the prize impressed a kiss upon each cheek of the successful youth. To judge from the programme of the prizes, one would suppose that the mind of each of the boys must have become a small encyclopædia, containing, as M. Bonnetty expressed it, *un peu de tout*; such is the infinite variety of subjects for which honours are awarded. It may be noticed, that besides prizes for rhetoric, &c., down to *Conversation Anglaise*, rewards were given for excellence in *Ecriture Sainte*, in *analyse religieuse*, and one in *la prière*.

As each boy approached the distributor of the prize, the military band struck up a triumphant pæan in honour of the juvenile victor. Some of the prizes were given by the *mothers*, who placed the green wreaths on the heads of their sons, and whose kisses

had, no doubt, more of natural virtue in them than those of the venerable magnates. At the close of the ceremony M. Mourice announced that the school would meet again on the first Monday in October. This is the only vacation, worth the name, in the Parisian schools. The expense of board and education, exclusive of a few extras for drawing and the living languages, is 1000 francs, equal to about 40*l.* a-year: this is the usual sum for the best schools in Paris; the school-year, too, it must be observed, consists of ten and a-half months, but there are two *jours maigres*, Friday and Saturday, in each week, on which days the boys have no meat. I forgot to mention that the master always spoke to and of the boys as *Mons. So-and-So*, which sounded strange to my English ears. At this distribution I was introduced to one of the parochial clergy of Paris, who said he was about to make a tour in Scotland, to visit the scenes described in Walter Scott's novels, and to study the character of the present schism in the Kirk. It is usual for the *curés* of Paris to take some recreation at this period.

I inquired of M. B—— concerning the means of subsistence of the parochial clergy in France. It is well known that no such things as tithes exist in this country; the clergy are all salaried by the State; archbishops receive 15,000 francs, equal to 600*l.* per annum; bishops 10,000, equal to 400*l.* per annum, with allowances for expense of visitations, 1000 francs

per annum. The *curés* are divided into two classes, according to the population of their parishes; those of the first class belonging to a population of 5000 souls and upwards, and receiving a salary of 1500 francs; those of the second class, 1200 francs. In most parishes of large population, beside the *curé*, there are *vicaires*, his *curates* in fact, who receive their salary from the revenues of the parish church (*fabrique*), or from the *commune* to which they belong. The *curés* of the Parisian and populous and wealthy parishes generally receive further emoluments, not only from masses, but fees, sometimes very considerable, at marriages and burials.

I observed to M. B——, that the *chairs* in the churches seemed to me to have greatly increased in number, beyond what they were ten years ago, and that barriers had been fixed in the churches, preventing the free ingress of the people beyond the mere entrance and the side aisles of the church. The payment, as above noticed, for admission *within* these precincts for a sermon is three sous, and it varies according to whether the mass is high or low; this *impôt* is nominally for the chair; hence, though the congregations have been greatly augmented in numbers, they consist mainly, in the body of the church, of the wealthier classes alone, and it can hardly be said that “to the *poor* the Gospel is preached;” for the margins of the churches, to which the poor are relegated, are hardly accessible to the voice of the



preacher. M. B—— answered, that the tax upon the chairs is absolutely necessary for the maintenance of the fabric (there being no church-rates in France, any more than tithes), and for the provision of the necessaries (as *wax-lights, chasubles, incense, oil*, payment of *choristers, &c.*) for public worship. It is much to be regretted that there should be no public means for supplying these requisites, without making uncatholic distinctions between rich and poor, and depriving the poor of those privileges which belong to them as members of the family of Christ—members valued as the special “*treasures of the Church*,” in primitive times<sup>2</sup>.

This afternoon M. Gondon brought me a present of his recently published volume, entitled, *Le Mouvement Religieux en Angleterre, par un Catholique*<sup>3</sup>; which appears to give a pretty fair view of the state of religious controversy in England; and promises to render service to us, by showing us the necessity both of caution and of charity. When I asked what was the difference, in his opinion, in the public mind of *France*, concerning matters of religion at the present time, as compared with ten years back, he said, there was a very remarkable one (which, as far as I have

<sup>2</sup> Cette appréciation de ce qui se passe dans les églises de Paris est exagérée. See note to p. 56, at end.

<sup>3</sup> M. Gondon has published in the present year (1846) a *Histoire de la Conversion de Soixante Ministres Anglicans et cinquante personnes de distinction, &c.*

observed, is eminently true), that whereas at *that* period politicians, and *publicists*, and philosophers, were ashamed of being thought to believe in the doctrines of Christianity, they *now* profess themselves to be greatly aggrieved, and are very indignant if they are not recognized as good Catholics. This is very evident, as he observed, from all the Government documents and official speeches of the present time: witness the language of M. Thiers' famous *Rapport*, just presented to the Chamber of Deputies, concerning National Education. Another proof of it has just been given by M. Villemain, Minister of Instruction, in his official address to the University, of which more by-and-by. The Catholics in France, however, it appears, place no reliance in these professions, as they see that the most important offices in public instruction are conferred upon persons who are notorious for their sceptical tenets, and that others are discouraged, and even dismissed from public offices, without any apparent reason but that of zeal for religion. He said, that the Catholics had no expectation or desire of encouragement from the State, that they only hoped for liberty and toleration. When I asked him whether as a Catholic, and therefore believing *one* religion, and *one only* to be true, he did not think it to be the duty of the State, for the sake of its own happiness and safety, and for that of the people, especially of the poor, to maintain *that* religion, as far as was compatible with the principles of tolera-

tion, and to discourage dissensions, and to promote unity<sup>4</sup>? and whether it was not its duty to God, who had promised that nations and kings should be the champions and nursing fathers of His Church, to endeavour to bring about the fulfilment of the Divine prophecies in its behalf? he only replied, "that perhaps this might be considered as the ultimate result; but that at present they must be content to obtain the spiritual *independence* of the Catholic Church in this country." He did not seem to apprehend that, in asserting their complete independence, and effecting their absolute emancipation from all civil power in their own country, they might themselves cease to be *citizens* of France, and leave her *throne* and laws without monarchy and religious support, and subject her to the thralldom of an extra-national and anti-national despotism of a spiritual and unlimited kind.

I have found the opinion entertained by many persons on France, which is expressed somewhere very strongly by De Maistre, that the civil power, by depressing the Church and depriving it of its legitimate rights, is throwing the clergy at the feet of the Pope as his devoted slaves and vassals; and that thus the spirit of republicanism is fighting the

<sup>4</sup> Ce serait là sans doute le devoir d'un Gouvernement Catholique, mais le Gouvernement Français n'est, aux termes de la constitution, ni Chrétien, ni Juif, ni Mahométan; mais il partage à la fois tous ces cultes. Le Gouvernement n'ayant pas officiellement de foi religieuse, et devant protéger également toutes les croyances, lui est-il possible d'encourager une au détriment des autres?

battles of the papacy with greater vigour and success than that with which it ever contended *against* it. De Maistre adds, in his exaggerated style, that the republicanized monarchies of Europe having thus thrown away all their means of maintaining order and obedience, and evoked a spirit of anarchy, which they will never be able to suppress, will be fain to make humble supplication to the Bishop of Rome to exorcise the unquiet spirit which they have aroused, and to take their kingdoms into his own hands.

*Tuesday, Aug. 13.*—By the kindness of two friends ✓ we obtained tickets of admission to the *grand concours* of the Colleges of Paris and Versailles at the Sorbonne, for to-day.

The design of the *concours* is as follows : the colleges or great schools of Paris and Versailles, containing altogether, at present, above 6000 students, are brought into *competition* with one another annually, by means of the University, of which they are constituent parts. In the *departments* there are other academies, as they are called, twenty-seven in number, each consisting of groups of colleges, and these academies are clustered together into the *University of France*, and thus there is one system of national education, which is commensurate with the whole extent of France. The *chef lieu*, or centre of this great system, is the Sorbonne, a large building of the bad Italian style of the age of Cardinal Richelieu, who laid the first stone, and occupying the

place of the old venerable fabrics of that name, which dated from the thirteenth century, but which have now disappeared.

The *result* of the competition of the Parisian colleges is announced at the *concours* with great ceremony and display. The proceedings of the day took place in a large saloon at the Sorbonne, in which the seats are arranged for the students after the manner of an ancient theatre, i. e. with concentric benches rising up in an inclined plane one above another, thus forming *cunei* with *viæ* converging downwards to what would be called the orchestra in a Greek theatre. Above these seats to the right and left at each end of the room are *tribunes*, as they are termed, or galleries (two on each side), which were filled with spectators. The *stage*, as it would be termed, of this theatre was occupied in the centre by a chair of state, which was to be filled by M. Villemain, the Minister of Instruction, grand Master of the University, Peer of France, &c., with crimson velvet and gilt benches on each side, to be occupied by members of the Council of Instruction and other dignitaries. Immediately behind M. Villemain's chair was a portrait of King Louis Philippe flanked by tri-coloured flags, beyond which, one on each side, in niches, are statues of Fénelon and Bossuet, obsolete remnants of the *ancien régime*.

After the admission of the company, about eleven o'clock A.M., the students poured in in crowds, and

took their places in the centre or body of the hall. At the same time came in the members of the *École Normale*, i. e. of the school for training masters; then marched in the professors, in black gowns, bands, and long orange-coloured silk badges, or *lati-claves*, over the left shoulder: together with them came the doctors in the faculties of law and medicine, in scarlet cloth gowns, and other professors in crimson satin and orange silk gowns—a brilliant show. These took their places where the senators would have sat in a Roman theatre, i. e. the lowest in front nearest the stage. The front rows of the galleries were occupied by distinguished personages, among whom were some members of the Institute in dress coats covered with bright-green embroidery and with swords. A military band occupied one corner near the north gallery, where we sat.

After the students had taken their places, and one or two pieces of music had been played, a great uproar arose, the young prize-men and their comrades demanding the revolutionary air of *la Marseillaise*, which after a short delay was played by the band, and received by the students with great applause; it was soon called for again, and again played, and received with equal *éclat*.

At twelve o'clock precisely appeared M. Villemain (dressed in a plain court dress, embroidered collared coat, white waistcoat, and sword, no gloves), preceded by two gold maces who took their station

behind his chair; the assembly stood up, and M. Villemain desired them to be seated. Some gentlemen, splendidly robed in violet velvet and ermine with white gloves, followed him and took their seats on the side benches; after which, on each side, the stage was guarded by a company of soldiers, who stood all the time. M. Cousin, dressed as member of the Institute, sat at the end of the left bench. The proceedings were opened by a Latin address read by one of the professors, Mons. Demogeot, of the College of St. Louis. The *English* pronunciation of Latin is not very good, to be sure; but Cicero himself could not have been eloquent in French. M. Villemain next arose and drew out of his pocket a paper, from which he proceeded to read his address in a very good and audible voice, and in a very dignified manner. The speech had excited great expectation on account of the present condition of affairs connected with national education, and was listened to with profound attention. It commenced with the usual salutation, "*Jeunes Elèves*," and reminded them that on no previous occasion was so much interest attached to the proceedings and the career of the rising generation of France as at the present day; that they had, therefore, much to rejoice in, and much to hope for. He spoke of the dignity of the University whose character was in their hands; he referred to its foundation by the hand of the great hero of France (Napoleon), by that

same hand as had reared again her fallen altars, had signed the concordat of 1801, and had brought (*attira*) the sovereign Pontiff to Paris (not a word about his sending him to Fontainebleau and to Savona). He enlarged upon the advantages which they enjoyed, as having not only all the learning and génius of antiquity open to them, but also possessing it elevated by Christianity, illustrated by the science of modern times, and purified by the morality of its rational and intelligent philosophy; and he exhorted them, by religious and moral conduct, by loyalty and patriotism, by discharging the duties which they owed to their colleges, to their families, and to society at large, to maintain the character of the University, to vindicate it from the aspersions of its enemies, to be the apology of their masters (*l'apologie de leurs mattres*), and the joy and pride of their families. He reminded them that their time for mixing in the politics of the world would soon arrive, but that it was not yet come; when it *did* arrive, they would then show that they were true sons of the University of France, and would follow the glorious examples of their former comrades the young sons of their king, who were advancing its glory in the colony of Constantine, and on the perilous coasts of Morocco <sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> [A few months after this brilliant exhibition, the public mind was suddenly shocked by the melancholy news that M. Villemain had been bereft of reason: he was succeeded as Minister of Public



After this address, which was received with much applause, the distribution of the prizes ensued ; the names of the more eminent successful candidates being proclaimed by M. Cousin, M. Poinso, and M. St. Marc Girardin, members of the council of instruction ; the rest by the *inspecteur des études*, M. Bourdon ; M. Cousin announcing the philosophy prize, M. Poinso that for mathematics, M. St. M. Girardin for rhetoric. The prizemen, as their names were called over, descended from their places and approached M. Villemain, who placed a green wreath of ivy on their heads and kissed them on the temples. The prizes consisted of *sets* of handsomely bound *books*, the music playing at the announcement of each prize.

The distribution at the *Institution Mouton* above described, was, it will be seen, a miniature of this great academic anniversary, but there were some points of difference. At the former there were many of the clergy, and the prizes were distributed by them : at the *concours* neither the Archbishop nor any one of the *eighty Bishops* of France was present, and only very few of the clergy scattered here and there among the spectators. Again, in the former, there were prizes for *religious* knowledge ; here, at the University, there was no notice of any thing of the kind in the long list of honours which were con-

[Instruction by M. Salvandy, who now holds that office ; and M. Villemain, after an illness of a few months, is now restored to health.]

ferred. I had a neighbour sitting next me at the *concours*, who seemed to be in little sympathy with the principles of the proceedings of the day. He was a young man, and had a book with him to read in the interval of waiting, before the commencement of the ceremony. He appeared to think that the spirit of the *Jeunes Elèves* was any thing but favourable to the maintenance of the powers that be; and their demand for the music of the Revolution elicited from him many expressions of regret at the democratic temper which prevails in the University. He appeared to think that the monarchy was losing strength with the rise of the new generation. He asserted that the king would not venture to make his appearance in such a popular assembly as the present, from apprehension of personal danger. He asked me whether I was in Paris at the anniversary of the glorious "three days;" if I had been, he said, I should have seen that when the king appeared at the window, no one in the crowd cried "*Vive le Roi!*" and no one even "*posa son chapeau*" in return. This seems almost incredible; but certain it is—and it has struck me very forcibly—that the contrast is very great between the public exhibitions of loyalty at Paris twelve years ago, and the total indifference and almost oblivion into which the national mind seems now to have fallen with respect to the person of the monarch, and the claims of the monarchy. At *that* time I remember, as one symptom of the general

feeling, that the print-shops were crowded with portraits of Louis Philippe ; I have now been in almost every part of the capital, and I have not seen *one single portrait* of him, save only that just mentioned in this hall of the *grand concours* at the Sorbonne. There seems to be a natural disposition in the French people to be soon weary of their toys, and this unhappy spirit of restlessness and discontent shows itself in the destruction of their history, their geography, their systems of weights and measures, their literature, and their religion, and all that ought to be most permanent. How often have the divisions of their country changed their names ! How frequently have the streets of Paris received new appellations ! How puzzled their public buildings must be to know their own purposes and designations ! Witness the Pantheon with its various phases of metamorphosis : look at the Madeleine, destined first to be a Temple of the Legion of Honour, and now a Christian Church ; turn to the *Arc de Triomphe* with its shifting titles ; notice again the *Place de la Concorde* with its discordant nomenclature, which has effaced the recollection of two kings ; observe the complete remodelling, in the present century, of the boundaries of all the dioceses of France ; contemplate the total revolution in the system of national instruction which has taken place in the same period ; and mark the change of feeling with respect to religion which is now rapidly diffusing itself both among

the clergy and laity, and view the altered position which, by the virtual destruction of the Gallican Church as a national establishment, and by its almost unanimous *renunciation* (on the part at least of the *clergy*) of those very liberties for which it contended so zealously in 1682<sup>6</sup>, the clergy of France now occupy with respect both to the government and to Rome; and the only subject for surprise is, that in this Euripus of civil and ecclesiastical flux and reflux the existing dynasty should have remained at anchor for so long a period as fourteen years. Thus it should almost seem that the prospect of further continuance is lessened by the duration which has been already allowed to the existing government by the people, who, notwithstanding Parisian fortifications and national guards, are its masters as they were its authors.

I have said that a very great part of the literature of France bears evidence of this inconstancy. A public proof of it is given by the daily press. The newspapers, one and all, have now unfortunately adopted the practice, which is of recent date, of giving what they call *feuilletons*, that is to say, a certain quantity of subsidiary matter ranged in dwarf columns in the lower part of three sides of the paper (like notes at the foot of a text), the subject of which is taken from real or imaginary life. Thus the public is presented, day by day, with a great number of romances pub-

<sup>6</sup> See note to p. 8, at end.

lished by instalments, which form the habitual study of the greater part of the male and female population of Paris. In this way newspapers, not only as containing news, but as supplying works of fiction, have become the literature of the country.

We may have a fair idea of this kind of publication by supposing chapters of *Pickwick* or *Oliver Twist* published day by day in the *base* of the *columns* of the "Times" or "Morning Post." The misfortune is, that these *feuilletons* put all other literature to flight, in addition to the mischief which from their low subjects and vicious style they directly produce. They are the food—or rather the poison—of the public mind; and the writer who caters with most success as the prime *restaurateur* for this sort of literary viands, is the great and admired author of the day. At present *M. Eugène Sue* is the king of romancers, and the hero of *feuilletons*; he is engaged by the *Constitutionnel* at a sum which I heard stated, but from *its greatness* am afraid to mention. The circulation of this paper, which is enormous, is said to be mainly owing to his contributions: of course his fame will be as ephemeral as that of his predecessors, the other literati of the same style, Balzac, Soulié, Victor Hugo, &c.

After the *concours* we paid a visit to one of the largest Colleges belonging to the University, that of *Louis le Grand*, at the east of the Sorbonne, i. e. on the opposite side of the *Rue St. Jacques*. The building is very spacious, and was formerly a convent, but

bears no appearance at present of a monastic or ecclesiastical character. We were conducted to the apartment of the *proviseur*, M. Pierrot, who readily allowed us to make a tour of the establishment. The *proviseurs* of these colleges, as I believe has been before mentioned, correspond to our *Heads of Houses*, with the exception of having no spiritual functions, and, indeed, being in all cases at Paris laymen, one college only excepted, that of *Stanislas*, where the head, M. l'Abbé Gratry, takes the name of *directeur*; and there is no *aumônier* or chaplain in that college, where four other ecclesiastics are associated with the *directeur*.

It may be here mentioned, that the day after the *grand concours* at the University, each of the seven great Colleges at Paris had their own special distribution of prizes, accompanied with addresses, &c., from the Municipal and University Authorities. The principles upon which the prizes were awarded were very similar to those adopted by the University; and it may be observed here, as an element of contrast between the other Colleges and that of *Stanislas*, that it *alone* in the distribution of its prizes took any notice of proficiency in *religious knowledge*: in its programme of honours *Étude de la Religion* occupies the *first* place.

The subjects, generally speaking, which are proposed for examination and reward are almost as special and numerous in all the Colleges as in the minor

school before described of M. Mourice; from philosophy, rhetoric, Greek, and Latin, down to chemistry and the English and German languages. This *speciality*, if I may so call it, of study and distinction, has evidently a tendency to distract the mind of the student, and to produce bad moral results. A young man is rewarded simply because he may have acquitted himself well in *one* of the numerous branches of study, and *one only*. He is thus tempted to forget the universal harmony and connexion subsisting among the various objects of intellectual pursuit, and is induced to substitute in his own mind as his intellectual *plenum*, some *one* technical and material science, as chemistry or botany, in lieu of the *prima philosophia* of human and divine wisdom, which unites, animates, and elevates *all* sciences, and makes them profitable and ennobling subjects for human study, and fit instruments for human education<sup>1</sup>.

[ This practice of giving the highest distinctions, that the University and its Colleges have to bestow, to *special* excellence in *individual* branches of study, having this direct tendency to lead the young student to put science, or even single departments of it, into the place which ought to be occupied by wisdom and virtue alone, his mind, instead of being a monarchy presided over by conscience regulated by

<sup>1</sup> See note to p. 70, at end.

divine law, is in danger of becoming a democracy, in which various plebeian powers struggle for the mastery.

But this *speciality* of rewards is a large subject; and it is time for us to return to the College of *Louis le Grand*. This, as has been already mentioned, is one of the largest colleges of Paris. It gives instruction to 1094 students, of which 432 only are lodged within the walls (called *pensionnaires libres*); 122 are *externes libres*, i. e. *day scholars*; 471 are *élèves des institutions et pensions*, i. e. are lodged, &c., in boarding-houses, but *suivent les cours du collège*; 27 are *boursiers royaux*; 37 *boursiers communaux* (i. e. the charge of their education is defrayed by the crown or commune); 5 are *demi-pensionnaires libres*.

To say a few words of the numbers, &c., of the other colleges of Paris. That of Henri IV. has 788 students distributed pretty much in the same proportions as *Louis le Grand*; *St. Louis* has 958, also on the same system; *Charlemagne* (the college which has been recently the most distinguished for the literary success of its scholars) has 827, none of whom board or lodge within the walls. It has no *aumônier* or chaplain. *Bourbon* has 1120 students, and is precisely on the same footing as *Charlemagne*, i. e. all the students are day scholars, and for the most part they reside in some boarding-house (*pension*) in the city. The two following colleges, on the contrary,



receive *only internes* as they are called (i. e. boarders), the colleges *Stanislas* and *Rollin*, the former having 290, the latter 390 students.

Those students who are lodged in *pensions* in the town are conducted by a *professeur* twice a day to the college to which they belong, and return under his charge; and the director of the *pension* takes care that they are prepared for the lessons which they have to say at the college, and thus discharges the duty—which is called *répétition*—which is performed by a private tutor in our large schools and universities. Every *pension* is attached to some one particular college, the classes of which are attended by all the members of the *pension* above ten years of age.

The College of *Louis le Grand* consists of three quadrangles, assigned respectively to *le petit collège*, *le moyen collège*, and *le grand collège*. These divisions contain the students ranged according to their age and proficiency; and there is no communication, except on stated occasions, between these different divisions. The restraint to which all the *internes* are subject is very rigorous; they are not allowed to go out of the precincts of the college more than twice a week, i. e. Sundays and Thursdays; their amusements, therefore, ordinarily are confined to these quadrangles, which have a very dull and monotonous appearance.

Their games are playing at ball and gymnastic ex-

ercises, at which, to judge by the poles, like lofty masts of a ship, which they climb, and the long cylindrical bars along which they run at full speed, at a distance of ten or twelve feet from the ground, they are very active and adroit proficient. And not merely are they thus confined in *space*, but they are never left to themselves without the presence and superintendence of either a professor when they are *en classe*, or a *maître d'étude* (a very ill-paid and subordinate functionary) when they are preparing their lessons: their recreations also are under similar controul, which does not cease at night; for at each end of their bed-rooms, which are long and spacious, is a bed for a professor, and the room-door has an aperture through which a sergeant on guard during the night is bound to look every hour, and to see that all is quiet and orderly in the apartment, which is lighted by a lamp. The neatness and airiness of the rooms, especially of the infirmary, was very remarkable; and the same may be said, I think, of the kitchen and the refectories.

The refectories are furnished with tables, each table affording room for ten youths. During the repast one of the students reads to the rest some book of history, &c., from a raised rostrum, for which labour he is rewarded with a better meal than the rest after they have been served. The *carte du jour* for a fortnight, which is hung up in the kitchen, did not exhibit a very various or copious supply of viands.

Friday and Saturday are invariably observed as *jours maigres*, i. e. no meat is then allowed. The breakfast is limited to bread and water, which is taken at eight o'clock, the students having risen at five. The dinner is at twelve, supper at eight. Bed-time half-past eight o'clock. The expense of education is 1000 francs per annum, with a few extras, such as instruction in English and German, lessons in music, fencing, dancing, and riding, which vary from twelve to twenty francs per month.

- I have said that the controul under which the students are kept, the confinement to which they are subject, and the superintendence which is exercised over them, are very strict and almost without intermission; yet, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe, this *mechanical* discipline has entirely failed to produce any *moral* effect; and it is also true that these same students, as soon as they quit college and begin to follow the faculties, as they are called, at the University—that is, to study law, medicine, literature, or science—find themselves all at once placed in a condition of absolute freedom, for which they are wholly unprepared by any previous *moral and religious* training. It is no wonder, therefore, that their spirit and passions, having been so long compressed by external force, and being counteracted by no principle of self-government, should suddenly explode when the pressure is removed, and that the students of the Parisian colleges, when let loose upon the capi-

tal, should be ready at any moment to place themselves at the head of a Revolution<sup>8</sup>.

Since the time of this visit to the college of Louis le Grand, I have made enquiries in various quarters concerning the *moral character* of these Parisian schools, and I regret to say, that *in no case* has the

<sup>8</sup> The following are the observations of one of the ablest of the Bishops of France on this subject—Liberté d'Enseignement—Examen par M<sup>sr</sup>. Parisis, Evêque de Langres, Paris, 1843, p. 52.—“The heads of the University feel their need of *religion*, of its morals and its doctrines: and they call it to their aid. But, in answer to this appeal, Judaism, Lutheranism, Calvinism, &c., present themselves together with Catholicism. What course then is to be followed? One, you say, and one only; viz., to lop off all that is *peculiar* in each of these creeds, &c., and to adopt a formula of natural religion; that is, to surrender all their doctrines up to indifference and scepticism. Yes—But what is this eclectic process but the ruin of all religion? Disguise as you will this false position, adopt as you like, in detail, certain formulas ready made for the use of various religionists; yet it will always be undeniable, that all the members of our University, as *Academics*, are condemned to a practical and material indifference to all religion. And can you imagine that such a practical *habit* of mind does not *re-act* on their own convictions? And can you suppose that their pupils do not perceive their contradictions, and are not affected by their indifference? What! is it in the *power* of an instructor to exercise *no* influence over his pupil? or is the scholar capable of being blind to the acts of his instructor? No: and therefore, even against your will, you propagate indifference to all religion. Your system, by its nature, is destructive of every faith: and can you then hope to make *good citizens*? You paralyze virtue, and you hope for self-sacrifice! But let me remind you that, without conscience, action can have no other basis but selfishness. The government of the Bourbons at the Restoration favoured the University: and yet the students and other members of the University did more than any other individuals to destroy their Throne! What a lesson is this!”

report been a favourable one. I cannot but feel some hesitation in the statement which I am making with respect to the morality of these great establishments, the colleges of Paris, as what affects them not only concerns their own most important social and moral interests and duties, but also affects the University (of which they are constituent parts) and the government, and indeed the nation at large. But in giving utterance to this judgment I am not only recording the result of private enquiries, but am echoing, and that very faintly, the language of the official report of *nine chaplains of these colleges themselves*, to their ecclesiastical superior in the year 1830, the terms of which are so serious and fearful (and which I am assured are as applicable to the state of these schools, at the present time, as they were when they were first written), that it may well be considered a matter of surprise that these colleges should now be overflowing with the vast number of students who resort to them, indeed that they should be the accredited places of education for the youth of this great country. This fact, which one can hardly call other than a symptom of parental infatuation, can, I apprehend, be only explained from the circumstance that education in one of the colleges is the *avenue* through which a young man *must necessarily* pass (unless he is brought up entirely under the roof of parent or guardian), to enter upon a career of professional life. The report of these *Aumôniers* will be

found in the "Histoire de l'Instruction publique de M. H. de Riancey," tom. ii. p. 378<sup>o</sup>; to which may

<sup>o</sup> The following are extracts from this Report :

"MR LORD,

"The Chaplains of the nine Royal Colleges have the honour to transmit to you the Report which your Lordship has desired them to furnish of the moral and religious condition of the above colleges.

"It is, my Lord, in our collective capacity that we submit this Report to your Lordship, in compliance with your Lordship's request. Besides, we have a community of duty and of anxiety, and the opinions which we have now to express do not refer to *one* college more than another, nor are they of mere local or special concern. We have, then, my Lord, the honour to lay before you a picture, faintly drawn, of the deplorable state of religion in the above colleges. We are filled with sentiments of despondency and horror which no words can express, when we reflect on the almost utter futility of our office, although we have spared neither pains nor study to render it effective.

"The youths who are committed to our charge are scarcely admitted into the colleges before the good principles which they may have imbibed in their childhood begin to evaporate ; if any of them remain faithful to their first impressions, they seek to conceal them, and when they have reached the age of fourteen or fifteen years, our efforts become wholly abortive ; we lose our religious influence over them so completely, that in each college, among the united classes of mathematics, philosophy, and rhetoric, out of ninety or one hundred students there are scarcely seven or eight who are communicants at Easter.

"Nor is it *indifference* or the force of passion which leads them to a general forgetfulness of God ; it is *positive* INFIDELITY. In fact, how can we expect that they should be believers in God when they see such contempt for religion, and when they listen every day of their lives to lectures of so contradictory a character, and when they find Christianity no where but at chapel, and there too an empty Christianity of bare form and technical routine ?

"They arrive, then, at fifteen years of age without any rule for

be added the testimony of a *liberal* deputy and a member of the council of instruction itself, M. St. Marc Girardin ; " We do not make citizens any more than saints in our colleges : what do we make then ? We instruct, we do not elevate : we cultivate and develop the mind, but not the heart." After writing the above, I received to-day (Aug. 21) a most unreserved confirmation of this unhappy character of these schools of Paris from an ecclesiastic whom I met at the house of one of the professors of the University<sup>1</sup>.

*Wednesday, Aug. 14.*—Walked to the *grande Im-*

their thoughts, and without any rein for their actions, except an exterior discipline which they abhor, and masters whom they treat as mercenaries ; and at length, when the course of their studies is complete, of those who issue from the colleges the average number of the students who have preserved their religion to the end of their career does not amount to more than *one* student from every college in each year. Such is the calculation which expresses our hopes of the future in the University, such the final result of our own professional labours !

" Some of us have passed our youth in these colleges, and we have seen as students there that which we now behold as functionaries ; and we have never thought on our education without extreme disgust (*qu'avec une ingratitude sans bornes*), and we shall never reflect on our present office without sorrow.

" We are, my Lord,

" With respect, &c."

(Signed by the nine Chaplains of the Government Colleges.)

<sup>1</sup> I transcribe the following passage from "*Histoire de l'Instruction publique*, par M. Riancey," ii. p. 206, Paris, 1844 :

" It is difficult to represent the state of moral depravity to which the youth of France was reduced in ten years after the foundation of

*primerie* of the Abbé Migne to the south of the Luxembourg gardens and the Observatory, and a few hundred yards beyond the Barrière d'Enfer. This is a vast establishment directed entirely by the Abbé himself. It contains all the processes necessary for printing, as type-founding, stereotype, *satinage*, *brochure*, *et reliure*, with the exception of paper-making. It is indeed a very wonderful institution, especially considered as created and governed by one single clergyman, whose previous studies could not

the University. One fact will suffice: several students committed *suicide* in the Parisian colleges! The most recent of these suicides \* has thrown great light on these awful mysteries; and notwithstanding the attempts taken to conceal it from the public, the whole of Paris resounded with the fact for several days. A Government student of fifteen years of age, quitted his college without leave; on his return he was condemned to solitary confinement for three hours. On entering the place of confinement he attempted to hang himself, but without success; after several attempts he tied his cravat to a chair, and strangled himself by straining against it. The same day his comrades produced his will, written by his own hand. The following is a copy of it. 'I bequeath my body to pedants, and my soul to the Manes of Voltaire and J. J. Rousseau, who have taught me to despise the vain superstitions of this world. I have always acknowledged a Supreme Being, and my religion has ever been the religion of nature.' This will was immediately circulated among the colleges of Paris. Copies were eagerly made of it and circulated; and the students joined in admiration of this appalling crime, as if it were an act of the most heroic devotion. 'Un pareil récit,' adds M. H. de Riancey, 'en dit plus que toutes les réflexions. Il fallait arriver aux dix-neuvième siècle et l'Université Impériale pour voir ce forfait inoui jusque-là, *le suicide de l'enfance.*'"

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\* Mémoires pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Instruction publique, iii. p. 109. 1818.



have been very favourable to such an enterprise. It was stated to me that there were 200 workmen employed on the premises.

The Abbé had been pre-informed of our visit, and received us very obligingly, giving us an account of his designs, and carrying us through every part of his establishment. He is evidently born with a genius for command. His principal aim is to give to the world a complete collection, in a very portable form, and at a very economical rate, of all the Greek and Latin fathers of the Church<sup>2</sup>. He said that he had long had this plan in his mind, and had never rested till he had begun to put it into execution. "And with what means did you begin?" "With nothing," he replied, "but *la bonne volonté*; a man, sir, could build a church like your St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey if he had but a *good will* to do it." "But you had friends to support you?" "No, I had many *opponents* and enemies." "But the Bishops of your Church?" "They, sir, at first, were *all against* me; but seeing that I was in earnest, they have now come round and support me. I have just received a letter from one of them, who writes to me thus:— 'Now, my good friend, draw me out a prospectus of your plan for publishing the Fathers; in the plan, which you draw, speak you *en Evêque* for me; I will

<sup>2</sup> Aussi qu'un cours très complet sur chaque branche de la science ecclésiastique. (MS. note by M. l'Abbé Migne.)

adopt it and sign it, and send it round to all my clergy as a recommendation of your enterprise ; and mind, send me your edition of St. Chrysostom ; not the Greek but the Latin, for at my age one does not study Greek.'—And, sir," added the Abbé Migne,—as a letter from another prelate was here very *à propos* put into his hands—"Here is a despatch from one of my former *opponents*, who is now become one of my principal supporters, and he sends me enclosed a preface, written in his own hand, to be prefixed to a great work by the late Cardinal Luzerne, of which he has very handsomely presented me with the MS., and which will soon appear from my press here—it is a treatise on the subject of the Catholic Hierarchy." Thus saying, the Abbé put the preface into my hands : it was written on a large quarto sheet, of which it filled, I think, three sides ; I was much interested by reading in this same preface, an acknowledgment from the episcopal author of it, in his own hand, of the validity of *Anglican ordinations*<sup>3</sup>, and

<sup>3</sup> L'auteur de la préface n'avait certainement pas l'intention d'émettre une opinion quelconque sur la question controversée de la validité des ordres de l'Eglise Anglicane ; il disait seulement : " L'une des innovations les plus funestes du protestantisme fut de détruire la hiérarchie ecclésiastique en proclamant l'égalité des pouvoirs entre tous les ministres de l'évangile. *L'Eglise Anglicane fut la seule des sectes protestantes qui conserva son épiscopat, et se défendit contre les erreurs presbytériennes.*" L'observation de l'auteur ne peut s'appliquer qu'à la forme extérieure ; évidemment elle ne touche en rien à la validité ou non-validité des ordres anglicanes, ni à la succession apostolique de l'épiscopat anglais.

of the apostolicity of the *Anglican episcopate*: a truth which, it is well known, Romanist writers, especially in the English colonies, have lately begun zealously to controvert (the Abbé himself has recently reprinted, in the twenty-fifth volume of his course of theology, the work of Kenrick, the Roman Catholic coadjutor of Philadelphia *against* the validity of the Anglican orders), thus reviving the exploded tale, abandoned in shame by their ancestors, and unabashed by the honest confessions of Bossuet, Couzayer, Colbert, and Lingard. The episcopal prefacer's words are, "*Parmi les communions Protestantes, l'Eglise Anglicane fut la seule qui conserva son Episcopat.*" It ought to be mentioned, as a reason which I have heard assigned for the prelate's reluctance in the first instance to give his formal sanction to M. Migne's bold undertaking, that some other French ecclesiastics had formerly engaged in literary enterprises in which they had failed, and that he was apprehensive that the Abbé might add to the number of unsuccessful ecclesiastical speculators.

As yet the works of Tertullian, Cyprian, Arnobius, &c., and a part of St. Jerome and St. Augustine, are all that have appeared of the Latin collection. The price of each volume, containing about 1200 pages at least, of very large octavo closely printed, does not exceed seven or eight francs; the number of the copies of this collection will not be more than 2200. The Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and St. Cyprian, have

been superintended by two of the most learned men in France, both Benedictines, Dom Guéranger and Dom Pitra.

If the undertaking should prove successful, it will tend, perhaps, more than any design of the present day to familiarize the mind of the literary public with the great writings of Christian antiquity, and will supply a popular library of patristic theology for the use of parochial divines, as well as academic students: and thus it cannot fail to render signal service to the cause of Christianity.

When M. Migne spoke of the aid which he hoped to afford thereby to the Church of *Rome*, I ventured to assure him that no one would welcome his publications with greater satisfaction than the Bishops and Clergy of *England*, who were, I believed, generally speaking, quite as conversant with the works of the Fathers as their brethren of France; and accordingly I took eleven copies of his *patrologie* (he gives eleven as ten), being convinced that I should find many candidates for them among my literary friends.

Since this visit I have been looking at his St. Cyprian, and in it, at the famous passage quoted by Romanists, as from the *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, cap. iv. The passage is here boldly inserted in the text, where one reads, *Qui Cathedram Petri, super quem fundata est Ecclesia, deserit, in Ecclesia se esse confidit?* These few words have exercised a wonderful influence over the fortunes of the world. Believed to be genuine by

the Gallican Bishops in 1682, and quoted by them emphatically and *alone*<sup>4</sup>, in support of their opinions in their circular letter to their colleagues the Archbishops and Bishops of the realm, when they promulgated the Gallican articles, these words, I say, appear to have then retained the Church of France in her union with Rome, and to have induced it to proclaim the necessity of that union as an essential condition of the Catholicity of a Church! Again, in our own times, these words were put foremost by the present Pope Greg. XVI. in his Encyclic letter to all Patriarchs, Primate, &c., in 1832. "Maximum," says he, "fidei in Sanctam hanc Sedem studium inculcate inclamantes cum S. Cypriano, *falso confidere se esse in Ecclesia, qui Cathedram Petri deserat super quam fundata est Ecclesia.*" Here, by the way, the Pope inserts *falso*, and neither he nor the Gallican Bishops let their readers into a secret, which the Abbé Migne discloses in a note on the above passage, *Hæc verba non habentur in antiquis editionibus, neque in nostris libris antiquis!* True it is that they are found in some other MSS., but we must say that the chair of St. Peter is *tenui tibicine fula* in its claims to be the centre of Unity, when it props them up on a passage *quæ non habetur in antiquis editionibus, neque in libris nostris antiquis*, by the confession of a Gallican Abbé<sup>5</sup>!

<sup>4</sup> See Note to p. 84, at end.

<sup>5</sup> L'Abbé Migne est ultramontain. Il a promis d'envoyer ses ob-

*Thursday, August 15th.*—To-day being the *fête de l'Assomption*, we went to the church of St. Roch, where we found the Abbé Grandmoulin just about to ascend the pulpit to preach. His sermon, as was to be expected, was entirely devoted to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, first as an example, and secondly as an object of devotion. He did not, indeed, neglect Scripture authority with respect to the life of the Virgin, but he built a good deal of his discourse upon the details given by ancient authors whom he did not cite by name. He stated some of the objections that had been made to the adoration of the Virgin, who he said was not to be regarded as a mediator between God the Father and man, but between man and Jesus Christ, and that the faithful ought to pray to her; that she might desire her Son to pray for them. He met objections by alleging the authority of the Church, and by asserting that the practice of praying to the Virgin had prevailed from the earliest times, that it had been sanctioned by the *greatest Fathers and Doctors*, and by the Church herself, in proof of which he quoted the Litanies used in France to the Virgin, where she is invoked as *Regina Angelorum, Regina Patriarcharum, Regina Sanctorum omnium, Janua*

servations sur la note en question et les conséquences que l'on en tire. (MS. note from M. l'Abbé Migne.) I must beg the Abbé's pardon for calling him a *Gallican*, but I did not use that term in an *ecclesiastical*, but in a *national* sense. Those who wish to see more evidence of the spuriousness of the passage in the text, may consult Bishop Taylor, x. 501. and Dr. James, on the Corruption of the Fathers, p. 307.

*Cœli, Salus infirmorum, Refugium peccatorum.* Remembering these and other similar unfounded assertions which were propounded to the poor ignorant people as if they possessed all the authority of Divine inspiration, I cannot help recording my testimony, that a day thus kept is, in one of the very worst senses of the word, a day of *assumption*. I pass over one or two points in this sermon, which tended so directly to disparage the One great sacrifice for sin, and to encroach on the undivided unity of the Supreme Being, that a notice of them in such a narrative as this would seem scarcely reverent. How deeply to be deplored is it that the author of evil, who employed woman in Paradise as an instrument of misery to man, should now be aided by Christian preachers in using the most perfect of women (the antithesis and antidote of Eve) as a subtle and efficacious means of beguiling the human race from the simplicity of the Christian faith! Not, however, to be hasty in our conclusions on this subject, we went from St. Roch to the Church of La Madeleine, where another sermon was delivered at three o'clock. In plan and expression it was very similar to what we had just heard. There was a very large and attentive congregation. Speaking of the influence of the blessed Virgin, who was asserted by the preacher, on authority wholly apocryphal, to have fallen asleep, and to have been carried up into heaven, and now, after her assumption, to reign over cherubim and seraphim and

over all the saints and spirits there, he exclaimed, "*La puissance de la Sainte Vierge est illimitée !* there is nothing which she cannot desire her Son to do, and nothing which at her request He will refuse to perform: she is a *Médiatrice*; not, however, of power, but of grace." There was still more gratuitous assertion in this discourse than in the former. Both these Sermons were delivered in an impressive manner, but appeared to me very defective in anything like systematic arrangement, logical argument, or genuine eloquence. The duration of each was a full hour.

*Friday, August 16.*—At the Bibliothèque du Roi from ten to three, which are the hours for study there. Nothing can be more gratifying to a stranger, or more honourable to a great literary institution, than the courtesy with which every facility is here given for exploring the treasures of learning deposited in this magnificent establishment, which is probably without a rival, as far as MSS. are concerned, in any metropolis in the world.

In the afternoon, spent some time in a bookseller's shop in the *Palais Royal*, looking at a volume just published, *de l'Ultramontanisme et des Jésuites*, being Lectures by M. Quinet, delivered by him in his character of Professor of European Languages and Literature, at the *Collège de France*. (It may be here mentioned, that the Professors of the *Collège de France* differ from those of the *Sorbonne*, in being a self-elected body, and not appointed directly by the



Government.) M. Quinet belongs to the same class of writers as his colleague, M. Michelet, Professor of History and Morality, and, like him, contends very vigorously against the Jesuits and against the Church, because it takes a Romanist direction in opposition to a national one. Unhappily, though he brings a great deal of just reasoning, together with abundance of talent, against his opponents, he seems to have no sound principles to substitute in the place of what he destroys, and there are several passages in his work of a sceptical and anti-christian character which have strengthened the cause of his adversaries. I have since fallen in with a volume entitled *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français*\*, Paris, 1844, by the celebrated Lawyer and *Député*, Dupin, which maintains the principle of a National Church with much learning; he follows the line of argument traced by the great writers of the Gallican Church, Bossuet, Fleury, and Dupin, and endeavours to recover their principles from the neglect and contempt into which they have now fallen from the scepticism and Erastianism of French statesmen and politicians on the one hand, and from the violent ultramontaniam of the clergy on the other. Still one cannot help being struck with the incongruity of his system: he begins with professing profound reverence for the

\* Voir le Mandement portant condamnation de cet ouvrage par le Cardinal Archevêque de Lyons.—(See note to p. 88, at the end of this volume.)

Pope, as supreme and universal Governor of the Church, and then he proceeds to strip him one by one of all the powers and privileges which he claims in that capacity, making the Pope an Epicurean Deity, with nothing to do, and with no power to do anything; just as Lucretius begins his poem, *De Rerum Naturâ*, with an invocation to a goddess, and then shows that both gods and goddesses are all nonsense?

*Saturday, Aug. 17.*—To-day again at the *Bibliothèque*. M. Hase, conservator of MSS., conversing very earnestly on a topic which now engrosses universal attention, *viz.* the sudden dismissal of the whole of the Polytechnic School, consisting of 300 students! I will not enter into the arguments *pro* and *con* concerning this summary act of ministerial authority, or rather of royal power, on the representation of the minister of war, Marshal Soult; but the event is one of the numerous unhappy symptoms of the fact, that the present dynasty, having exhausted its *popular* resources, and outlived the *présti*ge of the republican enthusiasm which created it, is now placed in the critical posture of transition from a democratical character to one of military rule. But it is much to be feared, that having been raised on the popular principle, and having been impelled to encourage that principle in all the great institutions of the country, and especially in those of education, and

? See extracts from the *Semeur*, in note to p. 25, at end.

to act in a republican spirit in its relations to the rising generation,—witness, for instance, the adulatory language which Louis Philippe employed to this same *Ecole Polytechnique* (which he has now disbanded) in his *ordonnance* of 1830, on account of its services in defending Paris, that is, ejecting Charles X. and overturning the monarchy ;—it is, I say, to be feared that the present Government will hardly have strength, with all its prudence and power, to stem the revolutionary torrent which it has let forth ; and that it will feel the force of retributive justice from those powers which it has used for its own aggrandizement, if not in its own person, yet in that of its immediate successors.

The national education of the country appears to be administered upon principles quite as unfavourable to loyalty, as to religion and morality.

\* At the *Bibliothèque*, to return from this digression, one of the keepers of the MSS., who has been very obliging to me, described to me the present condition of classical learning in France. A great deal of stress being laid upon the ancient languages in the school education of this country (and there are very strong passages in the recent Rapport of M. Thiers and his commission to the Chamber of Deputies, on the necessity of maintaining and advancing these studies in what is called secondary education), a considerable proficiency is made in them in the earlier stages of instruction ; but in consequence of the *variety* of

study which distracts the students in the higher classes, and especially from the miscellaneous character of the examination for the degree of Bachelor of Letters, and from the separation of the clergy, the learned or should-be-learned class of the community, from the University and the schools of France, the amount of solid classical learning is extremely small. My friend says that M. Hase and M. Boissonnade, are the only two existing *savans* who are qualified to write on critical subjects in Latin. He might have added himself, (he has presented me with two critical works which show his ability as a scholar,) and also M. Duebner, well known as the editor of several volumes of Didot's *Bibliotheca*, who is deservedly esteemed for his sagacity and learning.

Much jealousy seems to subsist between the privileged aristocrats of learning, *viz.* the members of the *Institut*, the *Rédacteurs* of the *Journal des Savans*, &c., and the laborious but less renowned students, who do not belong to the liveried and salaried literary corporations of the country. A gentleman mentioned to me that the faculties at the University had lately abandoned the habit of debating their theses, &c., in Latin<sup>9</sup>. On the other hand, however, there seems to be great hope for these studies, from the increased interest now felt in France concerning the writings of the Fathers of the Church, and the literary monuments of Christian antiquity. At the re-

<sup>9</sup> See note to p. 91, at end.

cent distribution of prizes at the celebrated College of Juilly, which I hope to visit, the Abbé Goschler, one of the professors, made some excellent observations on the uses of classical studies in education. M. Miller has been before mentioned as the conductor of a Literary Review. I may here insert, by the bye, the titles of two theological periodicals, which are said to exercise much influence on the opinions of the clergy, the one entitled "*Le Correspondant*," edited by M. Audley (formerly a professor of Juilly), assisted (as is asserted in the prospectus) by Count Montalembert<sup>1</sup>, and others, and publicly encouraged by the Archbishop of Paris; the other, called "*Bibliographie Catholique*," published at *Rue de Bac, Passage Ste. Marie*, No. 3, which, on account of the short notices it gives of all the theological books that appear, and its great cheapness, it being only ten francs a-year, and appearing monthly, has a very wide circulation among the clergy of France.

*Sunday, Aug. 18.*—At the English Church. Both services well attended, especially the morning. Dined afterwards in the *Rue des Vignes*, No. 19.

*Monday, Aug. 19.*—I find the serious people here

<sup>1</sup> M. Audley n'est pas assisté par le comte de Montalembert (qui n'a jamais écrit une seule ligne dans le *Correspondant*), mais il est l'assistant, l'employé, ou le secrétaire des rédacteurs du *Correspondant*. M. Lenormant est le principal rédacteur de cette revue, qui donne des articles de M. le Comte Beugnot, de l'Abbé Maret, de M. de Carné et d'un ou deux autres membres de la Chambre des Députés. [M. Audley has written an article in the Number for Dec. 25, 1845, On the Conversions in England.]

very much elated by conversions which have recently taken place from Protestantism to Romanism. Calling this morning upon M. Gondon, I found him very full of the news from Rome of the reconciliation, as it is called, to the Church, of M. Hurter, late President of the Protestant Consistory of Schaffhausen, in Switzerland, and celebrated in Germany and France for his History of Pope Innocent III., and for his work on the papacy subsequent to Innocent's time. The impression naturally is, that his historical researches have led him to abjure Protestantism, and to espouse the tenets of the Church of Rome. In the Tablet newspaper I saw this morning an advertisement of an English translation, by the Rev. Charles Seager, late of Oxford, of the *Père de Ravignan's Defence of the Jesuits*, the same work as was given me the other day by the Provincial of the Order, whom I visited again this morning. He told me that there had been three translations made of that book, and then he passed rapidly to the question, "*Eh bien, M. le Docteur, quand est-ce que l'Angleterre va retourner à l'unité de l'Eglise ?*" In reply to which I begged to inform him that she had *never left it*. I do not recount the greater part of our conversation, being a repetition of what has been before stated in other words; but I must observe that the main principle for which he contended, was the necessity of some *one visible authority*, to which, for the sake of peace and unity, all the members of the Church

should consent to defer ; “otherwise,” said he, “the Church, which its Divine Founder intended to be the household of love, and which He could not leave, and has not left, to be distracted by dissent and distressed by doubt, must become the prey of interminable disputes, and be a house divided against itself, and therefore must fall.” He proceeded to point out the pernicious consequences to which men had been led by the unconstrained exercise of private judgment, in the Protestant societies of England, Scotland, Switzerland, and Germany. This was an easy matter, and the remarks he made on the necessary consequences of the uncontrolled use of private judgment, could not, I think, have failed to make a deep impression upon those who are disposed to maintain, in *unqualified terms*, this so-called Protestant axiom, which affords the greatest advantage to the champions of popery.

His subsequent observations were less successful ; indeed these controversialists, who are more fortunate in refutation, seem to fall into the error which they justly condemn, when they set about constructing a system of their own. Thus, in defining the *papal authority*, they differ so much from one another and from themselves, and above all from the Pope, that they seem to allow themselves the free exercise of *private judgment* in this all-important matter<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> C'est l'Eglise elle-même et les papes qui ont laissé aux fidèles cette liberté d'opinion.

The Church, they say, is a monarchy ; *but* what the nature and extent of the powers of the monarch is, neither he nor his subjects can tell ! I have enquired not only of the Provincial of the Jesuits, but also of other ecclesiastics, what their opinion is concerning the temporal authority of the Pope, and I find they hold that the papal supremacy, *in temporalibus*, "was a very good and necessary thing for the period in which it was exercised ;" but, in direct contradiction to the Pope's own assertions, it "is not a matter of faith, but of opinion ; and not applicable in *practice* to the present times." *Times*, however, proverbially *change* ; but *Rome* is *unchangeable* ; and they deny not that the period, in which it may be expedient to be exercised, may recur. By asserting the necessity of the temporal supremacy of the Pope in the *past*, they concede the possibility of its exercise in the *future*.

Again, on the question of infallibility they are at variance with one another and with themselves. The Provincial of the Jesuits replied to my queries on this subject by stating that the Pope is the conservator of the faith of the Church, not its dictator ; that he is its mouth and organ, and that when he has spoken *ex cathedrâ*, his *effatum* does not immediately take effect, but waits for the sanction, either tacit or expressed, of the whole episcopal body of Christendom. He specified the Bull, *Auctorem Fidei*, directed against Scipio Ricci, Bishop of Pistoia, and



his Italian reforms, as having complete validity, because there had been no remonstrance against it. On the other hand, it ought to be remembered, that the popes themselves, in the more ancient and more famous, and frequently reiterated Bull, *In Cœnâ Domini*, excommunicate, *ipso facto*, all persons who venture to appeal from a Pope's Bull to a General Council, *i. e.* who dare to ask for the general opinion of the Catholic Episcopate on any matter on which the Pope has spoken! Again, the Jesuit is at variance on this subject with his former self; he frankly owned to me that some time since he had subscribed the Gallican Articles<sup>3</sup>, in which the Pope's independent infallibility is denied, or, as they express it, *son jugement n'est pas irréformable*; and he now avows to me his conviction that the Gallican Articles are not worth a straw, and he asserts, that at present they are not taught in any ecclesiastical seminary in France—though the Law (Art. Organ. § iii. 24) requires them to be subscribed by the Professors in *all*.

Even Bossuet himself, the great writer on the *Variations*, as he terms them, of Protestant Churches,—that most instructive of all books for Protestants—has *varied* from himself on this subject. Bossuet, as De Maistre shows in his work on the Gallican Church, affirmed, in his celebrated sermon on the Unity of

<sup>3</sup> See note to p. 96, at end.

the Church, that no pope had ever fallen into heresy; and yet he afterwards made a catalogue of the heresies which popes had held!

I have observed that Romanist controversialists have a convenient way of getting rid of objections on this and similar matters concerning the papacy. Cite to them the cases of popes Liberius, Vigilius, and Honorius I., who have been generally believed by the world to this day to have lapsed into heresy; the first into Arianism, the second into Eutychianism, the third into the error of the Monothelites, and they reply either that some MS. has been recently discovered, or some learned treatise lately published, which sets these matters in a new light. Thus Cardinal Mai and his researches in the Vatican are very useful in case of a difficulty.

The distinction they make between matters of *faith* and *opinion* seems to open a wide door to much very pernicious teaching<sup>4</sup> on some of the most serious questions of practical religion. I detailed briefly to Père Boulanger the substance of what I had heard in the sermons on the Assumption above noticed, and asked him whether he did not think that the results of *unscriptural*, and, as it appeared to me, *anti-scriptural* teaching on so solemn a subject as the true Mediatorship between God and man must

<sup>4</sup> La porte n'est pas si large qu'on pourrait le croire; car toutes ces matières sont déterminées par l'Eglise d'une manière précise et rigoureuse.

be very baneful as far as regards the practice of the people, and highly offensive to Almighty God. He did not enter into the question of the *truth* of the doctrine there propounded, but said that there were many things left *open* by the Church, which had not pronounced any authoritative judgment upon them. Here, then, is a broad arena expanded for *private judgment* to expatiate and disport itself upon in its wildest vagaries, from the removal of the limits fixed by the principle of *Scripture sufficiency* in matters of faith.

He made a similar reply when I enquired how the Bishops of France could allow the books and processions and fêtes which are now so common, in honour of the robe of Argenteuil, in the very environs of the metropolis; how could they reconcile it with their duty to the people committed to their charge, to permit them to go astray, and indeed to encourage them to seek after a delusion propounded as an object of religious veneration? He said that this again was a point upon which the Church pronounced no judgment; she thought it best to leave it an open question, and without authorizing the supposed relic, she might well believe that it supplied a very useful occasion and inducement to pious exercises and good works. "Besides, sir, to show you that something may be said in favour of the robe, I had with me here a few days since a young English peer, now under education with our order at

Fribourg, who assured me that having been long suffering from a bad leg, he received an instantaneous cure from an application of a piece of the robe to the disordered part ; and he called on me the other day, as he was passing through Paris for the express purpose of going on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving to Argenteuil." I replied that I was not concerned either to admit or deny the *fact* of the miracle ; that the *one* great duty of man, which no circumstances *could* affect, was to do the will, and believe the word, of God ; that not even an angel from heaven was to make us swerve from *this* duty ; and that if we disobeyed the Divine will, or tampered with the Divine word, I thought it not unlikely that God would give us over to a reprobate mind, and " choose our delusions" as the best mode of punishing us for our sin : and that therefore, supposing the robe to be a *lying wonder*, I considered it to be not improbable that God might take the method of delivering its votaries to judicial blindness, and of punishing them for their credulity and for the injury done to his holy name, in paying honour to it which is due to *Him* alone, by allowing the robe to exercise miraculous agency, and that we had reason to expect from holy Scripture that the trial of our faith in these latter days would be precisely of this kind. We passed to other topics, and he concluded by saying in a kind tone, " You have, sir, my best wishes for your peace and happiness in unity with the Church of Christ, but at pre-

sent you and your countrymen are but *seekers* (*vous n'êtes que des chercheurs*).” And I, having expressed a hope that the Divine promise to those who *seek* in a right spirit might be fulfilled in our case, took leave. I then walked to the Rue Monsieur, hoping to find the Superior of the Benedictines ; he was from home, but I was presented to Père Pitra, whom I had particularly wished to see, having heard from the Abbé Migne that he had taken the principal part in revising the new edition of the works of Tertullian. I was greatly pleased with my visit. There is a gravity and earnestness, a modesty and kindliness, in these Benedictines, which inspires great respect while it conciliates affectionate regard. He expressed much regret that his superior Dom Guéranger, of whom and of whose works he spoke with great deference, was not at home, as he would have had much pleasure in receiving me. He referred to his own labours on Tertullian in a very modest manner, and expressed some apprehension that the editions of which it was one might not satisfy all the expectations of the literary world. He thought that of the *Greek* fathers a Latin translation alone would be published ; another unhappy symptom of the degeneracy of France in that erudition for which it was once famous, and which it must strive to recover before it can rightly call upon other nations to receive from its mouth an interpretation of the language of Christian antiquity, to which its ecclesiastics now

appeal with so much confidence<sup>5</sup>. I asked the Père Pitra whether there was any record in his congregation of the letters which Dr. Bentley wrote from Trinity College, Cambridge, to various members of the Benedictine fraternity in 1716. He said that there had been a great fire at their monastery of St. Germain des Prés at Paris, in the year 1793, which had consumed many of their books and papers, and that their abbey had been entirely demolished, with the exception of the church, at the great Revolution, and that their MSS. had been confiscated, and that such of them as survived were now to be found in the Bibliothèque du Roi, where I should perhaps hear some tidings of Bentley's letters, if they were still in existence. (I may here mention that, on my next visit to the Royal Library, I did enquire of M. Miller, who very kindly went immediately in search of them; but his investigations were not attended with success, and his opinion is that they perished in the fire above mentioned.) Père Pitra seems conversant with Latin theological works published in England: he spoke in terms of high respect of Dr. Routh's *Reliquiæ Sacræ*, with some reservations as to points of doctrine, in which it was not to be expected that the Benedictine brother of St. Maur would agree with the Anglican president of St. Magdalene.

<sup>5</sup> See note to p. 101, at end.

He said that this work reminded him of the by-gone days of theology. He mentioned also an edition of Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, lately published at Cambridge, which he said he understood contained good notes and a preface concerning patristic Latinity. "But I," he added, "who do not read English, have not been able to profit by them." The Superior also, Dom Guéranger, told me on my former visit that he himself did not read English; which I mention the rather because it thence appears, that the innovation of publishing theological and critical works with English notes instead of Latin, renders them inaccessible to two of the most learned men of the most learned order in France, and that, if to them, much more to the French clergy in general; a fact which, in addition to many other reasons of great moment, would seem to suggest the propriety of a return from the new practice to the old.

Calling to-day on a French ecclesiastic of great respectability and learning, I found him, like his secular and religious brethren before mentioned, quite out of humour with the Gallican Articles, and considering them as temporal invasions of the spiritual power of the Papal See. His apology for Bossuet in promulgating and defending them was, that a broad distinction was to be made between the *Gallicanisme parlementaire* of the lawyers, &c., and the *Gallicanisme religieux* of the clergy, and that

Bossuet was the champion of the *latter*, and not of the *former*<sup>6</sup>. He expressed great hopes that the question now agitated between the University on one side, and the clergy on the other, concerning education, would, by dint of labour and by the quieting influences of time, assume a more pacific aspect, and lead to beneficial results. He thought the clergy had taken their position skilfully in not founding their claim on their *spiritual* character, but in resting it on the foundation afforded by the *Charte* of 1830, which guarantees, or rather *promises to guarantee*, liberty of instruction to *all*. The words of the *Charte* are, "*Il sera pourvu dans le plus court délai possible à l'instruction publique et à la liberté de l'enseignement.*"

On this point a difference of opinion will probably exist. We did not pursue the subject further; but it has since occurred to me to enquire of my friend, the author of the *Mouvement religieux*, M. Gondon, who has kindly given me the principal pamphlets on this controversy, whether there *can* be such a thing as education without religion, and whether the clergy *are at liberty* to renounce the public exercise, and to suppress the assertion, of the Divine commission given by the Divine Head of the Church to every pastor, and especially to every Bishop of the Church, in the words—as universally understood by Christian

<sup>6</sup> See note to p. 103, at end.



antiquity—" *Pasce oves Meas,*" and " *Pasce agnos Meos,*" " *Euntes docete omnes gentes;*"—whether, I say, they *can do this* and be guiltless, and whether, after all, the question for them is, not the *liberty* but the *obligation* of public instruction ; whether they are not justly chargeable with a serious dereliction of duty in speaking of the *Liberté d'Enseignement*, instead of the *Droit* and the *Devoir d'Enseignement* <sup>7</sup>.

Of this I feel satisfied, that the clergy, by taking the *low ground* which they have done, and by resting their cause upon the *Charte* instead of the *Gospel*, have given a very great advantage to their adversaries, who very justly affirm that education is too momentous a thing to be left wholly free, abandoned, like an article of commerce or manufacture, to the uncontrolled traffic of every speculating adventurer ;

<sup>7</sup> Cette appréciation manque d'exactitude dans la situation où se trouve placé le Clergé de France. Il est impossible aux Evêques et au Clergé d'établir leur droit à l'enseignement sur l'autorité de l'Evangile, puisque le Gouvernement et les grands pouvoirs de l'Etat sont censés *ignorer* (aux termes de la constitution) l'Evangile. Le Coran et le Talmoud ont constitutionnellement la même autorité que l'Evangile aux yeux du Gouvernement. Comment le Clergé pourrait-il dans ces circonstances établir ses droits sur le Nouveau Testament ? Evoquer la Charte, ce n'est pas renoncer à l'Evangile ; mais c'est se placer sur un terrain commun avec les adversaires que l'on doit combattre ; c'est invoquer une autorité qu'ils ne peuvent décliner, c'est les battre avec leurs propres armes.

Il est difficile de comprendre le grand avantage que les adversaires du Clergé peuvent tirer de la position qu'on leur fait en les attaquant sur le terrain de la Charte, au lieu de les inviter à se placer sur celui de l'Evangile. Il en serait autrement en Angleterre.

that *some* authority must be exercised over it by *some power or other*; and that, as the Church by her own confession does not claim this power, and has in fact abdicated it, it must therefore be exercised by the *State*. Thus the cause of the secular and irreligious University is strengthened by the weakness, calling itself prudence and policy, of the Church. Hence too the Church is placed in a position which it must feel to be a false one; for while the Pope\*, the visible Head of the French Church, in his Encyclic Letter is *condemning* the *liberty* of the *press* as pregnant with evil, the Bishops and Clergy of France are all contending for *unrestrained liberty of teaching* as the source of all good! But to return to my ecclesiastical friend. He made some observations on Jansenism, which gave him an opportunity of complimenting Protestants as compared with Jansenists, whom he regarded as holding all the heretical principles of Protestantism without its sincerity.

This evening, dining in an English family, a French literary friend gave us an account of a *demoiselle Anglaise* who had called on him to-day on her way from Rome, where she had been converted to Romanism. She came to express to him the delight and peace of mind she felt in being what Romanists call *reconciled to the Church*. These conversions, so frequent as they now are, occupy the minds of sincere

\* See note to p. 105, at end.

and serious Roman Catholics here as elsewhere, and render it extremely difficult for them to listen with patience to what can be said by Protestants against the errors and corruptions of Popery\*.

It seems that there are certain classes of society which are peculiarly qualified by their circumstances to furnish converts to Roman Catholicism, and that it may be justly asserted that, inasmuch as their converts come from these particular classes, and from them *almost exclusively*, that these conversions so far from being an argument *in favour* of Popery, are rather an argument *against* it. *First*, there are the extremely profligate, who, especially if they are wealthy, find in Romanism an impunity and comfort which no other religion pretends to give; and which none *ought to offer*. *Next*, are those, who, like M. Hurter and some of our own converts in England, are brought up without any sound, clear notions of the true, scriptural, and apostolical constitution of the Christian Church, its faith, sacraments, and ministry, and therefore, finding on enquiry and examination, that their *own* mere *negative* ecclesiastical theories are without solid foundation, and having no root in themselves, are prone, on any impulse being given them, to fall away. It need not, I think, be a matter of surprise that any Protestant minister of *Zurich, Geneva, Schaffhausen*, (M. Hurter was President of the Consistory at Schaffhausen, and, I hear, Ro-

\* See note to p. 106, at end.

manists now abound at Geneva,) should abjure the jejune, arid, negations of his own profession, *not of faith*, but of *denial*, and espouse the nobler and more satisfying principles of an apostolic Church, however corrupt it may have become. The same may be said with respect to the class in England, which fraternizes in discipline and doctrine with the school of Geneva. There is a *third* class, especially of women, which serves to recruit the ranks of popery. I asked our friend how *old* this *demoiselle Anglaise* was of whom he was speaking, and he replied, "About *forty*." It seems to be regretted that the Church of England should not be able to provide religious occupation and employment, of a spiritual and devotional kind, for women of intellectual culture and of ardent feelings, who either do not marry or are left widows without children, or are otherwise isolated without domestic or social ties to engage their affections, and without specific duties to perform. The very same principle which leads some of this class to squander their sympathies on parrots and lapdogs, seems to lead others (if they should be exposed to such a temptation) to fall victims to the arts of proselyting Romanists. Of course, too, at this age of which we are speaking, of greater maturity and seriousness, better motives may operate very powerfully ; but it must be remembered that a sort of court is paid, especially at Rome, to ladies of this character, and the most flattering, and one may almost say, *amatory* attentions are

lavished upon them, of which they have had little experience from a hard-hearted world, and which they find it very difficult to resist. I remember being present, about twelve years since, at Cardinal Fesch's palace at Rome, when he baptized a Scotch Presbyterian lady of this class, who had been carried about the city in his splendid carriage with its magnificent equipage, and *fêted* in saloons by cardinals and princes, till she was insensibly laid, as it were, in a mesmeric trance, from which she was, alas, soon to awake in the severe solitude of a convent, where all these brilliant sights of palaces, and pictures, and liveries, would seem to her waking senses only like a splendid dream ! But to return to Paris and our dinner table. I heard there of another very remarkable, and, as it is here called, miraculous conversion, which indeed the Pope himself has pronounced it to be, that of the brother of the Abbé Ratisbonne, who was an inveterate Jew till the moment that he entered into the church of *S. Andrea dei Frati* at Rome, and having suddenly been inspired to throw himself upon his knees there, had a vision of the Virgin, and immediately became a good Catholic to the surprise of all the world, and is shortly about to become a member of one of the religious orders.

As an unhappy contrast to whatever may be holy and devotional in these and other conversions of which we now hear so much, I am reminded by some details, also heard to-day, which it is not necessary to

specify further, not only of the indifference and scepticism which prevails widely at Paris, but of the vast amount of dreadful and unutterable crimes to which the public voice and the public streets witness, in tones which cannot be mistaken ; what I mean is, that authenticated records of flagrant iniquities meet the eye and ear in this place with a degree of frequency and publicity which is a melancholy proof of the inefficacy of the religious teaching and worship of the Roman Catholic Church as it exists in France<sup>1</sup>. In addition to this I must mention the senseless and rhapsodical fanaticism which infidelity has engendered, as proved by the numerous pretenders to Divine revelations and missions, who avenge the cause of religion which they and their followers have outraged, by showing that they, incredulous as they are, are the slaves and victims of the most abject superstition and sottish credulity. The various *schools* of unbelief, now existing at Paris, exhibit a melancholy spectacle of the consequences of a mere secular, material, and mechanical education, unsanctified by Christianity, and undignified by the glorious imaginations, and fervent affections, and lofty aspirations which animated, and ennobled, and beautified the teaching even of *heathen* antiquity.

*Tuesday, August 20.*—This journal does not pre-

<sup>1</sup> La source du mal c'est l'enseignement impie des collèges et institutions universitaires. Comment le Clergé moraliserait-il la jeunesse quand l'Université s'interpose entr'elle et lui ?

tend to give any account of the public buildings and sights of Paris, some of which we visited to-day ; but I cannot omit a passing notice of the church of St. Germain des Prés ; not so much for any thing very remarkable in itself—though it is a very handsome church, with a very lofty belfry visible far and wide—but as being almost the only remnant of the vast and ancient abbey of the Benedictine congregation of St. Maur, which produced and cherished within its walls so many venerable, learned, and pious men, who were ornaments not only of their own order but of their country and of the church at large. In the church there is a monument to Casimir, the ex-King of Poland (who was Abbot of this monastery, where he died in 1672), but the editions of the works of the Christian Fathers, which owe their existence to this abbey, and to the labours of the illustrious brotherhood, Montfaucon, Delarue, Martianay, Sabatier, Thuillier, and others, are imperishable monuments, possessing a more powerful interest now that revolutionary fury has levelled all the cells and cloisters of the monastery of St. German to the ground.

We went from the church of St. Germain des Prés to that of Nôtre Dame, at the east and south sides of which there is now a large open area on the Seine—the site formerly of the Archbishop's palace, and a record of the popular frenzy of a more recent period. It is well known that the palace was pulled down by the mob and all the books and MSS. of its invaluable

library thrown into the Seine in 1831, because the clergy were imprudent enough to celebrate a service in commemoration of the exiled dynasty, in the church of St. Germain Auxerrois, an act which the people supposed to have been encouraged by the Archbishop.

To-day we found in the church of Nôtre Dame an announcement of the Catechetical courses held in this church previous to the *first communion* and to confirmation. It may, I think, be affirmed that the Church of France is more faithful and zealous in *catechizing* than in the discharge of any other public religious duty. Here, for instance, was a notice of as many as *four* different courses of catechizing to be held twice a week (each of them, I think), uninterruptedly for several months. I saw a similar notice of weekly catechizings at the church of St. Roch, to be held without intermission from the fifth of November to Easter. It may further be observed, that the French theological press has been of late very prolific in full and elaborate Catechisms; of which one may be specially mentioned, that of the Abbé Gaume in eight volumes octavo, which has received the sanction of the Pope and of many of the French bishops. This of M. Gaume is a Catechism particularly intended for the instruction of *les Persévérans*, as they are called; i. e. for that class of young persons who *continue* after their first communion (which generally takes place at or before the age of



twelve years), to attend catechetical instruction. One of the courses just mentioned at Nôtre Dame was for this description of catechumens. In this church there was a sad event noticed in another public announcement, or *Mandement*, as it is called, of the Archbishop of Paris, which prescribed a solemn service of Fasting and Prayer, and other penitential exercises, previous to the re-opening of the church of *St. Gervais*, which had been closed in consequence of an act of suicide which had been committed within its walls, and in sight of its altar. This Pastoral Address of the Archbishop contained some very grave and solemn admonitions concerning the crime of self-destruction, and some very forcible observations on the feeling of abhorrence with which it ought to be regarded by all Christians, and seemed to intimate that the act is of common occurrence here (as indeed is well known to be the case, as I was assured by an eminent physician who has been twenty years resident at Paris), and that it is contemplated with indifference or even with sentimental commiseration, if not with approval and admiration. This *Mandement* was written in a very devout and pious style, and with much dignity of expression.

To-day, in the great amphitheatre at the *Jardin des Plantes*, where I expected to find a lecture upon Botany or Chemistry, or Comparative Anatomy, there was a very large assembly of persons, filling the vast concave space from the floor up to the roof,

who were gathered together to witness the distribution of prizes to the children of the schools of the *Frères Chrétiens* in this commune. The *Maire* occupied the chief place, and distributed the crowns to the victors, and gave the salutations to the young children (boys), who are of the lower classes, and receive gratuitous instruction at the hands of these Brethren, of whom more will be said hereafter. The company consisted of parents and friends of the boys, and it was a very delightful sight to behold so many of the labouring and trading classes, men and women, collected together in this spacious building to witness the success of their children. The crowns were of *natural* leaves, and there was no music, the use of which on such occasions is prohibited by the laws of the Brothers. The prizes were books. The *Maire* was supported on both sides by the Parochial Clergy, and by the *Frères*.

At the *Jardin des Plantes*, near the Amphitheatre, there is a mound planted with trees and shrubs, from the top of which is a good view of the city. The absence of all buildings of remote antiquity in this great capital is very striking, and tells the spectator of the havoc made by the Revolution.

Wednesday, August 21.—Went to breakfast with the Abbé Jager (No. 66, *Rue de Cherche Midi*), Professor of Ecclesiastical History at the Sorbonne, i. e. the University, and author of many works of note, among which is his *Protestantisme aux prises avec la*

*Doctrine Catholique, ou Controverses avec plusieurs Ministres Anglicans, Membres de l'Université d'Oxford*, (Mr. Newman &c.) The kindness and cordiality of these French literary Ecclesiastics is remarkably agreeable, mixed as it is with the appearance of seriousness of character and love of learning and of study. M. Jager's Lectures, given at the University, are published in M. Bonnetty's *Université Catholique*, and it is much to be regretted that, on account of the differences between the University and the Clergy, the labours of such persons as himself and his colleagues should be deprived of any part of that professional encouragement which in times of peace and harmony they would not fail to enjoy.

His friendly controversy above mentioned, which appeared first in the *Univers* newspaper, and was then collected in a volume, is now (I understand from his publishers) out of print.

As far as I have seen, the private libraries of French Ecclesiastics are not large; the poverty of the Parochial Clergy in France renders the acquisition of a professional library almost impossible. M. Jager has a fair array of volumes; but he assured me that such collections were by no means common, although at the same time, to the honour of the clergy, he said that they were very desirous of having good collections of books, and would often make great sacrifices for the acquisition of them. I do not think that I mentioned, on the occasion of my visit to the

Abbé Migne and his *grande Imprimerie*, that one of the means which the clergy employ to subscribe to his patristic and other publications is, to engage to say so many masses, which he on his part offers to procure for them ; for instance, a gentleman dies at Paris, leaving an order for 200 masses to be said for his soul, these masses being to be paid for at about a franc a-piece. The price of a High Mass (*Messe simple chantée*) is from five to seven francs ; of a Low Mass (*Messe basse*) from one franc twenty-five centimes to two francs ; for an *Octave des Morts*, or twelve *Messes du Saint-Sacrement*, the ordinary sum paid is from sixty to eighty francs. The Abbé happens to know the executors, and he has a good curé at hand who is very anxious to buy his books, and thus the masses are said, and the books are bought<sup>2</sup>.

A letter of the Abbé's, containing an agreement for a bargain of this kind, has lately by some mishap fallen into the hands of a Paris radical paper, and has gone the round of the liberal Press, who have been very glad to use it as an occasion for fresh outcries against the clergy ; but they do not seem to take any shame to themselves that the political principles of their own party have been strong co-

<sup>2</sup> Le Clergé en général désapprouve formellement cette ressource de l'Abbé Migne, et Mgr. l'Archevêque de Paris vient, à ce que je crois, de prendre des mesures, pour que ces échanges ne se renouvellent pas.

operating causes in driving the clergy to this kind of traffic ; as from the state of indigence to which they have reduced them, especially in country parishes, they have left them without the means of honourable subsistence, and much more, without the power of adding learning to piety, and of realizing the prophetic precept, that "the Priest's lips should keep knowledge." Even the Episcopal Order in France seems not to stand very high in public esteem for erudition.

Professor Jager had on his shelves the handsome editions of Chrysostom and Basil, which have lately appeared at Paris from the press of Messrs. Gaume ; but he assured me that the sale had been so slow, that the publishers were deterred from any further undertakings of the same kind. The Abbé spoke very candidly of the errors of Baronius, and of the want of scholarship which the Cardinal had shown in his *Annales Ecclesiastici*, of which he, the Abbé, had frequent evidence in his researches for his Lectures on Ecclesiastical History : he confessed that the anachronisms found in this great work were very glaring. We had another ecclesiastic at breakfast, who in reply to my enquiries concerning the moral condition of the Colleges, i. e. the great schools of Paris, said, that the religious influence of the College chaplains, *Aumôniers*, was almost null ; and that what there was of it was counteracted by that of the professors (as stated in that fearful Report of

the Chaplains mentioned before in this Journal\*), who were either utterly indifferent about religion, or were avowed sceptics, and who, from their constant intercourse with the scholars, had them entirely at their own mercy. For those boys especially who have no friends in Paris, the uninterrupted duration of a ten months' schooling of this kind, without interval of home or holiday, must be very dangerous.

I have mentioned the parochial catechizings, and I heard at the Abbé Jager's a very strong testimony in their favour from a very intelligent and well educated English officer, who has resided long in France, and has availed himself of the catechetical instruction given in a church in his own parish at Versailles, for young members of his own family, he having married a Roman Catholic lady. He described the exercises required to be done in writing by the catechumens as very instructive and interesting, and spoke with particular approbation of the catechisms of *Persévérance*.

We had also with us at breakfast a French baron, who gave an interesting account of the results of the teaching of the Jesuits of the age before the great Revolution, from his own family knowledge. There seems to be a strong impression of the power which the Jesuits displayed in producing *hommes d'état*, as well as *savans*, and indeed sufficient evidence has been

\* Above, p. 77.

given of this fact in the list of their scholars published the other day by Père Ravignan. It follows, indeed, from their fundamental principle of the necessity of implicit obedience and devotion on the part of all the subordinate members of the society to the will of the superior, and from the long preparatory training of self-discipline which they pass through, that the teachers formed in their society must be very efficient for moral good or for moral evil, according as the direction they may receive from the higher power may be.

Of course we did not separate without some allusion being made to the religious condition of England. Our two French ecclesiastics were too sincere to deny the unhappy condition of the Church in France, or to question the immorality and unbelief which prevails far and wide, especially in the capital and its neighbourhood ; they said that the clerical body, however respectable, was not learned ; and with some bright spots the general face of national education was, they affirmed, by no means cheering : still they entertained great hopes, they said, of our approximation to their opinions upon religious questions, especially the great one of communion with, and dependence on, the see of Rome as the one stone, the *une pierre*, upon which the Church is founded. We were, I assured them, built upon the *douze pierres*, the *Apostolic stones* of the Christian Church ; and that therefore I hoped that our foun-

dation, being broader and more Catholic, was not less solid than theirs ; that it indeed differed from theirs in this, that they had given to the successors of *one* Apostle a great deal more than Christ had assigned to all the *twelve*. On this word of theirs, *pierre*, it may be remarked by-the-bye, that it has happened unfortunately for Frenchmen, that the appellative of the person and the thing, which are different in *Greek*, (one being *petros* and the other *petra*,) are *not* different in French, so that their language itself affords occasion for a Romanist confusion. Our friends seemed to think that the reconciliation of the papal and royal authority would be an easy matter in England, and that it would be of infinite advantage to the Church of England if those ecclesiastical causes, in which the Crown has authority, were all transferred to the cognizance of the Pope. How easy would it be, they said, for these processes to run *au nom de notre Saint Père Grégoire XVI.*, instead of that of Queen Victoria !

*Thursday, Aug. 22.*—Went early this morning to St. Denis, where we were present at the high mass ; no one but ourselves, I think, at the service, which was performed with a good deal of pomp and magnificence. Most of the canons of St. Denis are *ex-bishops* ; and there is something very appropriate and wise in this arrangement, which affords these venerable prelates a place in this magnificent church, which is the appointed receptacle for the mortal remains of the sovereigns of France ; and opens an



honourable asylum to those members of the Episcopate who are unable from age and infirmity to discharge the active duties of a diocese.—Why should not our own regal Westminster serve the same admirable purpose?

Every one knows that the royal remains, formerly deposited here, have experienced sad vicissitudes, that they were exhumed by a sacrilegious mob at the Revolution, and that the splendid tombs, which are now ranged side by side in chronological order, in the spacious crypt beneath the choir, are for the most part mere *cenotaphs* of royalty, on which might be inscribed, *Stat magni nominis umbra*.

On returning to Paris from St. Denis, we walked to No. 165, *Rue Faubourg St. Martin*, a very large building with an oblong court, which is the central institution, or *Maison Mère*, as it is called, of the Society of Christian Brothers (*Frères des Ecoles Chrésiennes*), which has extended itself over the greater part of the Christian world, and has for its special object the *instruction primaire* of the male children of the poor in the Christian faith, as also in reading, writing, arithmetic, drawing, and history. This society was founded by J. B. De La Salle, canon of Rheims in the eighteenth century, I think, and its rule (we asked in vain for a copy), which resembles in several respects that of the Jesuits, received the approval of Pope Benedict XIII.

In many important points, however, this congregation differs from all religious orders, none of the

brethren being priests. They are at no time compelled to take the Vow of Fraternity, and are not *allowed* to do so before they reach the age of twenty-five years, though before this time they may bind themselves twice for three years' service at a time. They enter their Normal School, which is in this central institution, at about sixteen years of age for two years, which is their noviciate. At nineteen they may become teachers, if properly qualified, having passed a year in seeing how teaching is carried on in the schools. The *Frères* are placed, as it were, in a middle position between the University of France and the Clergy, and thus, especially at the present time, their Society is a very important one.

Their schools are under the inspection of the University, and they are paid by the communes in which they are established; and such is their repute at present, that not less than 130 communes in France are making applications to this central school for *Frères* to organize and conduct schools for *instruction primaire* in those places. The payment which they receive from the municipal corporations amounts to 760 francs (about 30*l.*) for each *Frère*, per annum. They never send from the central school fewer than three together, to form an establishment; and often as one sees these *religieux* with their long coarse black cloth gowns, large white bands (for the neck), and broad triangular hat, walking through the streets of Paris, sometimes with a small band of scholars,

sometimes without, I have never met them in less number than two together.

Though they are paid by the communes and inspected by the University, they never enter any parish without the express sanction of the Curé and the Bishop, and thus in this association we behold what is a rare sight in France, the Church and the State co-operating with one another in promoting the work of Christian instruction.

We were made very welcome by one of the Inferior Brethren, who said that he would endeavour to procure us every facility for our inquiries in the Institution ; but first he said he must learn what were his Superior's commands on that subject. After some short delay we were introduced to one of the Assistant Brethren, Frère Nicolas, who passed with us about an hour, giving us full replies to our inquiries with respect to the Society.

I do not think that I have mentioned another point of difference between this of the Christian Brothers and other religious orders, that its General does not reside at Rome. Their rule is to rise at half-past four o'clock in the morning, and the day is passed in prayer, meditation, attending mass, instruction in schools, recreation and meals, for which two latter items very short time is allowed. The recreation is walking and speaking in turn upon some religious or moral subject, silence being the ordinary rule both out of school and in it.

With respect to *school-time*, they maintain order and attention not by oral interposition (which is very rare in school and still more so in church), but by *pointing* to certain printed rules which are hung up in the school-room, having first gained attention by the use of a little hand-signal, and then directing the attention of the offending pupil to that particular rule which he has infringed. This practice, which would be worthy of observation in all countries, is specially so in France, where there seems to be a very general license to talk at the full height of the voice, almost in any place and at any time. The system seems very well calculated to train the scholars in the spirit of prayer, great care being taken to teach them prayers by heart applicable to every occasion of life. The same may be said of the catechism. On entrance into the school for lessons, the scholars make the sign of the cross, bow to the crucifix, (and also to the master,) and say an *ave*. I may mention here by the way, that, in reply to a question whether they had any children of Protestant parents in their schools, and whether the same system was applied to *all*, Frère Nicolas answered both the questions in the *affirmative*. The masters on entering the school-room bow to the crucifix, say a short private prayer, and read the New Testament while the boys are assembling. The school begins with prayer, and every half-hour of school-lessons one of the boys pronounces aloud the following words—“*Souvenons-nous que nous sommes en*

*la sainte présence de Dieu.*" Then a temporary suspense of all school business ensues, to afford time for certain mental prayer, which the scholars have been taught by the masters. A *reflection*, as it is called, is read at the morning prayer, and is commented on by the master in a practical style. There is a regular *Prière de soir*, followed by a reflection in the same manner. There is a prayer used in the school daily for the king. Also every Saturday and on vigils, and certain other holydays, particular prayers are said.

It may further be remarked as indicating the spirit of this institution, that every day, as soon as the scholars have left the school, the masters assemble in it, and kneel down and join in certain prayers, the first being said by the inspector, or chief master, "*Vive Jésus dans nos cœurs !*" To which the others reply, "*A jamais.*" Besides these prayers, wherever it is possible, the scholars attend mass every day.

The rules for the masters to teach good behaviour are very well worthy of notice. The corrections of the faults of the scholars consist of *pénitences* and *punitions*; the former are, keeping a boy *standing*, or on his *knees*, or in an *ignominious place*; the latter are *pensums* (i. e. impositions), or, *rarely*, the use of a leather thong on the hand. Frère Nicolas concluded his account of their operations by giving us a striking history of their success in their *evening schools* for *adults*, which have been recently established, and which seem to have had an extraordinary

effect in checking all tumultuary dispositions in the common people who belong to them, as was recently proved on a very striking occasion. When a great part of the lower orders of Paris were banding together for revolutionary purposes, and parading the streets of the metropolis in tumultuous mobs, none of the members of these adult schools, he assured me, took any part in these insurrectionary movements.

I cannot close this short account without adverting to the principle of deference of every member of the order to those who are above him, and of all to the Superior. I received after this visit a letter from Frère Nicolas, giving the address of their branch Society in London, as follows:—*St. Patrick's Schools, Tudor Place, Tottenham Court Road; Brother Kelly, Director of the Brothers of the Christian Schools.*

*Friday, August 23.*—Very rainy day. Called on M. Bonnetty; he gave me two numbers of his *Université Catholique*, in which are two elaborate articles on the life and character of St. Anselm of Canterbury, by Count Montalembert. M. B. conducted us to the very interesting Museum of Middle-age Art, and domestic furniture, at the Hôtel Clugny; the court of which leads into a large subterranean enclosure, being the remains of the baths of the palace inhabited by the Emperor Julian; it is, I believe, the only vestige of the imperial times of Rome at Paris. Afterwards, went to the *Institut* to see M. Boissonnade, member of the Academy of Inscriptions, and

professor of Greek at the *Collège de France*, and the well-known editor of various Greek authors. He was engaged at a *séance* of the Academy ; but he kindly came away for a short time to give me an interview. The library of the Institute is a most attractive place, from its space, its quiet, and the richness of its collection.

*Saturday, August 24.*—St. Bartholomew's day. Very rainy. At seven o'clock this morning set out from No. 8, *Impasse de la Pompe*, behind the Théâtre Porte St. Martin, in a diligence for Juilly, which is about nine leagues to the north of Paris. I was in the *coupé* with one fellow-traveller and a pointer dog, which he was taking with him for the commencement of the shooting season. A new game law has just been passed, which is intended to put a stop (by means of an increase in the price of a *license*, which is now raised to twenty-five francs) to the too great facility hitherto existing of carrying arms. This, it is supposed, will tend to augment the quantity of game.

My companion was one of that very numerous class in France who appear to be full of good-nature, and tell you, after the first hour of intercourse, all about their wives and families, and yet seem to have no fixed principles nor any serious thoughts concerning matters of the highest importance. My friend, for instance, told me before we had got much beyond the Barrière, "that he never went to mass, and that no

one in his neighbourhood ever did." I mean *men* of his position of life—for he said that his *wife* attended regularly, and that he *allowed* her to do just as she liked in this matter, and to bring up his son in the same way: he had nothing, he said, to object to religion, "*que c'était au contraire une très-jolie chose*, but then the misfortune was that it was so wretchedly taught (*si mal enseignée* <sup>4</sup>)." He then cited some instances of cupidity of money and domination among the priesthood; spoke of the sums to be paid by the poor for having the bodies of their deceased relatives carried into the church (the priests having nothing to do with the churchyards, which belong to the *communes*, not to the church), and also of the admission by *tickets* to churches in Paris: he mentioned Nôtre Dame de Lorette as an aristocratical church, which, he said, was a place of fashionable resort, and frequented by loungers of the higher classes, and to which they were admitted by tickets as to the opera. He animadverted also on the sums paid for chairs in the churches, which were not places of worship for the poor, but for the rich, whereas every church ought, he said, to be an *omnibus*, that is, for all the world alike. I asked whether the clergy were not reduced to unworthy devices for getting money by their in-

<sup>4</sup> Un homme, qui avoue ne jamais aller à l'église, pourrait être incompétent pour juger la manière dont la religion est enseignée. Le malheureux dont il est question aurait bien dû dire s'il avait jamais cherché de connaître ce qu'il se plaint d'ignorer.



digence? and whether this indigence was not their misfortune, and not *their fault*, but that of the *nation*? To be sure, he replied, they were very *mal rétribués*, especially those in country parishes, and every body expected them to give alms to all beggars. (N. B. There are no *street-beggars* in *Paris*.)

He passed from the clergy to the nobility, of whose character, both with respect to morality and intelligence, he spoke in the most unmeasured terms of contempt, citing some examples of public profligacy on their part, and asserting that the general character was too correctly represented by these specimens. I asked whether the country had not to thank itself also for these unhappy examples on the part of its aristocracy, because it had excluded them from the public career of legislators by abolishing the hereditary peerage; and it was evident that they could not descend to follow the ordinary callings of *négociants*, &c., and thus they were doomed to the curse of indolence and sensual indulgence. He replied, that this was true.

I arrived at Juilly at eleven o'clock, and shortly after made my way to the College, which is approached by a handsome gateway and a park-like entrance. The buildings are remarkably lofty and spacious, and have a very dignified and commanding aspect; but there is scarcely any thing of an ancient ecclesiastical character about them; they are not ranged in a quadrangle like our colleges, but consist of a long

and elevated pile, part of which was once an abbey. The more recent portion was erected by the congregation of the Oratoire, under whom the whole fabric assumed the character of a collegiate institution: this was in the year 1639, and the establishment is supposed to be one of the most ancient schools in France. It is also remarkable as always having been under the direction of *clergymen*; and, being anterior to the University in time of foundation, it has been allowed to maintain a peculiar independence of its own, so that it is a college *de plein exercice*, as it is called; that is, it enjoys the privilege of giving certificates to its scholars, which entitle them to offer themselves as candidates for the bachelor's degree in the University. The Collège Stanislas at Paris is of this kind, with which the college at Juilly maintains the most friendly relations. Those Stanislas students, who do not go home for the holydays, come here.

Of the 1434 colleges, of which 46 are royal, 312 communal, 914 pensions, 162 private institutions, 160 alone are conducted by clergymen; and there are only 23 of the 1434 which are *collèges de plein exercice*.

I had a letter for the Principal, the Abbé Bautain; he was not then at Juilly, but was expected in the evening, as I learnt from the Abbé Goschler, one of the professors, who holds the office of *directeur des études du collège*, who received me very courteously,

and pressed me to pass the day and sleep at the college, which accordingly I did. He particularly urged the invitation on account of the expected return of his superior, and the pleasure I should have in forming his acquaintance. Once or twice in this journal notice has been taken of the great appearance of subordination in religious and ecclesiastical institutions here; the Benedictines, for instance, referred to their principal, Dom Guéranger, and his literary labours; the *frère Chrétien* resolved every thing into the will of their director<sup>5</sup>; and there was the same spirit here at Juilly. This demonstration of respect and subordination to the *Head* of the *House* gives these establishments a very domestic character, and no doubt greatly augments their efficiency in producing the various results, collegiate, religious, moral, and intellectual, which they have in view.

This was St. Bartholomew's day, but being Saturday it was a *jour maigre* notwithstanding: this is, I was informed, the general rule in France. The Abbé Goschler has been mentioned before in this Diary as the author of an address on the heterogeneous, desultory, and superficial character of the present system of University studies in France, and on the neglect into which solid learning has fallen. *A little of every thing and enough of nothing*, seems to

<sup>5</sup> Above, p. 122.

be the rule followed by the University in prescribing the course of study to be pursued by the candidates for the bachelor's degree. He presented me with a copy of his discourse which he recited Aug. 7, this year, on the occasion of the annual distribution of prizes here at Juilly, which I have read with very much interest. He also very kindly gave up to me a great part of his afternoon, explaining to me the plan of the institution, and conducting me into the different parts of the building.

The college is surrounded by a park containing a grove of fine timber trees at a small distance from it, and also a large piece of water ; and though less varied in its surface, reminded me in its natural beauties of our park at Harrow. The number of students in the *collège* is about three hundred : I call it by the French term *collège*, but the reader will recollect that this answers to our *school* in England ; and Juilly, as well as the great colleges in Paris, may be considered as corresponding to our public schools, though in truth, except in the *age* of the students, nothing can be imagined much more different than these scholastic institutions of the two countries are from each other.

I asked how it happened that, with such an institution as this of Juilly, being, as it is, under *religious* superintendence, and possessing so many natural and professional advantages within twenty-seven miles of Paris, any French parents should think of sending

their sons to be educated by the Jesuits at Fribourg, in Switzerland? The reply was, that there was a good deal of political feeling in connexion with the old Bourbon dynasty, which drew the sympathies of certain high aristocratic families out of France to Fribourg; and that there was more of *legitimist* sentiment, with an admixture of religion, than of any other in this; for it was not pretended that the intellectual training at Fribourg was of a superior order; and that, as the old aristocratical party became more reconciled to the present state of things in France, and in harmony with it, so the tendencies towards Fribourg had become more feeble.

The religious teaching of Juilly is certainly of an energetic kind: the students attend mass daily; they are regularly instructed twice a week, first in the smaller Catechism, and then in the Catechism of the Diocese, and the elder boys are trained in a knowledge of portions of the Catechism of *Trent*; and of all parts and forms of the worship of their Church. Such is the conviction of *French* instructors of the necessity of *dogmatic* religious education for young persons. May not their practice suggest some useful admonitions to the conductors of our English public schools<sup>6</sup>? This is followed by the study of the *History of the Church*, and by a short system of *Théodicée*, as it is called, that is to say, an exposition

<sup>6</sup> See above, page 17, on this subject.

of the harmony between faith and science, or a justification of the Divine ways from investigations of natural philosophy—two most important branches of Christian education.

The expense of education here is a little higher than that of the Parisian colleges. I asked here, as in other similar places, what was the mode of *punishment* in use? The ecclesiastics of Juilly, as well as the philosophers of Paris, agree in opinion that Solomon knew little of education when he said, "He that spareth the *rod* hateth his son;" and a person would be regarded by both these two parties as a very unenlightened and bigoted mortal, who would venture to maintain that corporal punishment is in *certain cases*, and for *certain offences*, attended with peculiar benefits, which *no other* chastisement can afford. Such language as this is entirely opposed to the spirit of French schools, which seems to regard the attempt to act upon the *mind* by means of *bodily pain* (a mode of proceeding apparently prescribed by the divinely constituted relations of mind and body), as an infraction of the natural rights of the individual, and as an outrage upon his moral dignity! I cannot say that what I have heard of the morality of French schools, or the self-respect and sense of shame and honour of French scholars, is at all favourable to the opinion that the exclusion of corporal punishment tends to cherish moral dignity or virtue. The penalties resorted to

here are privation of exercise and recreation, and solitary confinement.

I spent some time in the library, which contains a respectable collection of books ; but a large proportion of them are *translations*, particularly of ancient authors ; this is a symptom of what strikes the eye and ear commonly in France, *viz.* the neglect of the original literature of other nations, and the substitution of versions and analytical compendiums for original and authentic authorities. This college had the honour of educating Massillon and Malebranche, and it was frequently visited by the great Bossuet, whose Episcopal See, Meaux, is in its immediate neighbourhood ; and in this great library, where I was left alone for about an hour, my thoughts naturally ran upon them, and upon their literary and theological works. Bossuet, particularly, is now brought before the eyes and minds of all who reflect upon the present condition of the Church in France, compared with what it was when he delivered his famous sermon *de l'Unité de l'Eglise*, in presence of the great Convention of Gallican clergy. In the library I lighted on De Maistre's work, *De l'Eglise Gallicane*, which shows that Bossuet, the greatest man whom the French Church ever produced, and whose name is revered by *all*, would, if he were to revive *now*, be received in France with cordiality by *none* ! He would be too Gallican for the present Ultramontanes of France, and too Ultramontane for the Gallicans.

At eight o'clock the bell rang for supper, and I went down from my room (No. 81, Corridor St. Jean, —the upper story of the college, or rather of the part of it in which I was, consists of two long corridors intersecting each other at right angles, one corridor being called that of St. John, the other that of St. Louis),—I found a large party in the refectory, which was lighted with lamps. In the middle of a long table was the Abbé Bautain, who had just returned to college with some others of their body, from a tour in Belgium. I was placed just opposite to him. The order and quietness with which grace was said was very pleasing ; the Abbé pronounced certain Latin prayers, to which the rest of the company responded ; he also commenced the Pater-Noster, leaving the sequel after the two first words to be supplied by each person mentally in silence. A similar form concluded the repast. To-day, as was before mentioned, was a *jour maigre* ; the meal consisted of soup, omelette, choux-fleurs, salad, conserve of cherries, and *vin ordinaire*.

The Abbé is of middle age, and a very striking person in features and expression. He has the reputation of being a very powerful preacher, especially in the practical application of his subject. One of the professors of the college told me that, of the other great French preachers of the day, the Père de Ravignan is generally considered the most eminent



for his logical ability, and Père Lacordaire for his power in moving the affections.

After supper we adjourned to the common room of the college, which is fitted up in the modern style ; it has on its walls a portrait of Pius VII., a print of the Deluge by Martin, and one of Leonardo's Last Supper. There was some conversation (our party being now reduced from about sixteen to four) concerning the present state of learning in France. The moral character of the clergy, it was asserted by the Abbé Bautain, was generally good ; but it was stated that ancient learning was at a low ebb among them. It was mentioned by one of the professors, as a proof of this, that when, on a recent occasion, many of the prelates of France, to the number of forty, wrote an official report to the See of Rome on a public question affecting the spiritual interests of their own dioceses, only one of them addressed his Holiness in *Latin*, all the rest wrote in *French*.

The Abbé Bautain, whose reputation as a Professor of Philosophy, as well as a preacher, stands high, and to whom the college of Juilly is mainly indebted for its present celebrity, has, it is well known, played a very active part in the controversies, philosophical and religious, of the present day. He was born in 1799, was a pupil of M. Cousin, and filled the office of Professor of Philosophy at Strasbourg. In 1834 he was the object of some animadversions from the

Bishop of his diocese, and went to Rome to submit his tenets to the judgment of the Pope, to whom he was presented by Cardinal Mezzofante. The Pope did not pronounce judgment, but seemed disposed to support the Bishop ; and M. Bautain and his colleagues, M. Bonnechose, Goschler, Ratisbonne, (some of whom, I believe, had been converted from Judaism,) submitted to the Papal decision, and soon after left Strasbourg for Juilly.

His observations, therefore, on the nature and use of the Papal authority have more than ordinary interest. He was, in our conversation, particularly emphatic upon this subject. He began with asking, "In England, when there arises any dissension, for instance, such as those which are now agitating your Church, what *Court of Appeal* is there to put an end to it? *Where* is the head, where the mouth, to speak and to order in litigated and controverted questions? Is it the Archbishop of Canterbury? is it each Bishop in his own diocese? is it a Synod of Bishops and Clergy? We see your controversies, and we hear of no tendency to a determination of them ; we hear of your battles, but see no movement towards peace. But with *us* the case is very different : an altercation arises ; there is discussion on this side and that : but since we are all children and brethren in one spiritual house, as soon as our holy Father has spoken, there is an end of the controversy, and harmony is restored. And this is according to the natural order of things ;

there *can* be no visible society (and the Church is the most perfect of all visible societies) without a visible *head*. *You* present to the world the anomalous sight of a *body without a head*. Consider also that there is something marvellous and divine in the preservation and power of *our* spiritual head. Look at the succession of Popes in the same See, always glorious and majestic, for 1800 years! Consider again the wonderful and superhuman effects, moral and religious and political, produced by a power apparently so frail and feeble in all *physical* respects, as that of the Bishop of Rome. Even at this present time, when the old man of the Vatican, decrepit and care-worn as he is, speaks from his pontifical chair, the effect of his voice is felt in every part of our own sceptical and demoralized France; it strikes fear even into the heart of the Emperor of all the Russias, and is echoed through the woods of America! Contrast this condition of unity and obedience in which the children of the Church of *Rome* live with regard to each other and to their spiritual Father, with *your own* wretched, disorganized, and disordered condition. You have no spiritual authority to which you defer; you were created by Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth; you are ruled by Sovereigns and Parliaments; you have none of the spirituality of a Church; you are separated from the great body of Christendom; you maintain your ancient right and title to be *Toto divisos orbe Britannos*; and your destiny, I

fear, will correspond to your present state : you will, I predict, reap the natural harvest of the seed which you have sown. Your Sectaries and Dissenters are gradually becoming more and more powerful ; your State is asserting new claims in ecclesiastical matters ; you will have the same battle to fight concerning national education which we are fighting in France. The revolutionary spirit will fall upon your Bishops and Clergy ; it will strip them of their wealth, and will make them the victims of its power. To your other difficulties will be added that which will arise from Ireland, a country which feels keenly the oppression which it has suffered from England in the interests which affect it most nearly—those of its Religion and of its Church.”

I have put down here the observations of the Abbé Bautain in a consecutive order, though they were made separately in the course of conversation, and broken by replies. Let me add one or two other remarks which fell from him. He said that he regarded the Papal *temporal* power as good for those times in which it had been exercised, without committing himself to an assertion that it would be good for the present : he considered the *uncertainty* of *Scripture* to be so great in matters of doctrine, that a visible *infallible* authority was absolutely necessary for its explanation : he instanced this in the interpretation given by the Church, in the Fourth Council of Lateran, of our Saviour's words, “ *Hoc est Corpus*

*Meum*," by which Transubstantiation became an Article of Faith: he asserted that the Holy Spirit directed and inspired the decrees of the Council of *Trent*.

I have before noticed the extraordinary misconceptions which exist amongst the most learned men of France concerning the history and constitution of the Church of England. I have never met with one who dates the existence of a Church in England from an earlier period than the mission of St. Augustine of Canterbury from Rome at the end of the sixth century; they know, and care to know, nothing of the seven British Bishops whom Augustine found in England, and who assured him that they acknowledged the Bishop of Rome as a *brother* Bishop, but as nothing more, and that they owed allegiance to their own primate, the Bishop of Caerleon.

They know nothing of the discrepancies of discipline between the British and Roman Church, showing its non-Roman origin; they willingly know nothing of the British Bishops who were present at the earliest councils of the Church, as at Arles and Sardica; and with respect to the era of the Reformation, they assert that a *new Church* was then founded for the first time by *Henry VIII.*, Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth, and by their Parliaments, and that whatever authority this Church possesses is due to their temporal acts and those of their successors.

They know nothing, at least they appear to know

nothing, of the distinct and repeated protests of English Sovereigns, that in bearing the title of Supreme Governor over all Persons and in all Causes in the Church, they do not pretend to exercise any *spiritual* authority or discharge any *spiritual* function ; that they do not challenge to themselves—but *expressly repudiate*—any right to propound articles of faith, to ordain to spiritual offices, or to exercise any ministry of the Word, or of the Sacraments, or of Discipline *in foro conscientiae* ; and that the *external*, distributive, regulating, and coactive authority which they *do* claim in Church matters, is that which our own princes and *all* Christian princes exercised before the encroachments of the Papacy, and which was exercised also with Divine approval by the sovereigns of God's chosen people. And with regard to the separation of England from Rome, they lay the onus of it entirely on England ; they forget the anti-scriptural corruptions of doctrine which Rome forces upon all, *as necessary to salvation*, and *as indispensable terms of communion with her* ; they forget the papal bulls by which Henry VIII. and Queen Elizabeth were excommunicated, and by which their subjects were released from their allegiance and ordered to rise up in rebellion against them ; and they are wilfully ignorant of the language of that fearful chapter of anathemas, the bull "*In cœna Domini*," which is and has been for more than five hundred years the language of Rome to all

Christian Churches who do nothing more than maintain those privileges which belong by Divine inheritance, Apostolic Order, and Evangelic Truth, to every Church of Christendom.

M. Bautain listened very patiently to the statement of these and some other facts connected with the Anglican Church, and also to some observations, from Scripture and early Ecclesiastical History, upon the question of the primacy of St. Peter; but he seemed to have more respect for *modern Romanism* than for *ancient Catholicity*. To my allegation of St. Cyprian's practice and language with respect to Pope Stephanus, as a proof of Cyprian's opinion on this matter, he replied somewhat naïvely, "*Ce n'est pas ce que St. Cyprien a fait de mieux*."

His frankness of language showed me the feeling with which the Church of England is regarded by Romish theologians; and however much they may wish for advances in their direction from England, certain, I think, it is that they are wholly indisposed to make any approaches whatever towards us, and this, simply because in their minds we are not only heretics but are unworthy of the name of *Christians*. One of the last words addressed to me here by M. Bautain was an earnest wish that *England* might become *Christian*. It is true that his colleague, M. Goschler, added *Catholique*, as by way of *substitution*;

<sup>7</sup> See Note to p. 142, at end.

but this was the language of courtesy, the other of unqualified sincerity. It is useless to disguise matters; some good may arise from a statement of the truth. It is much to be desired, that as the French, even the learned, read so little English, there were some work written in French which would give them clearer notions than they now possess of the history and constitution of the English Church.

*Sunday, August 25.*—After a comfortable night's rest I took my leave of the college of Juilly at seven o'clock this morning; the weather was now fine, and the park looked very beautiful, and the more so after the rain of yesterday, which had confined me almost entirely within the walls. Reached Paris for Morning Service at the English Church, in the Rue d'Aguesseau, where I met Dr. Jarvis of New York in the vestry; he read the prayers in the morning and preached in the afternoon.

*Monday, August 26.*—Went by the *chemin de fer, rive droite* of the Seine, to Versailles; had the pleasure of falling in again with Dr. Jarvis, and travelling with him in the same carriage: he was shortly about to leave France to attend the Convention of the Clergy in America, which will derive additional interest from the theological questions that have recently arisen in the American Church. He seems full of hope with respect to the Church in that country.

There was a fair at Versailles, and all the usual



attendants of dancers and charlatans with miraculous medicaments for all kinds of disorders ; one mountebank in an Asiatic dress, with a magnificent carriage and horses, and trumpeters seated on the roof of his carriage, attracted a great crowd to listen to the wondrous feats wrought by an aromatic salve (brought from Egypt by his father), on patients of every description. He operated on two labouring men taken out of the crowd, and, as far as appearances went, with immediate success on the first ; we left him manipulating the other.

After a visit to some friends at Versailles, we returned by the same route. Had with us in our train carriage a Curé of a country village, who was very communicative, but did not give me a very favourable impression of his professional sensibilities ; he spoke of the fearful accident which occurred not long since on the railroad of the *rive gauche*, when upwards of a hundred people were absolutely burnt to ashes in consequence of the attachment, to the *end* of the train, of a more powerful engine than that at the *head* of it ; the doors of all the carriages being locked. He had seen the train and all its wretched accompaniments almost immediately after the catastrophe, which, it will be remembered, occurred on a Sunday, a day when the grand water-works at the palace at Versailles played ; but he seemed to regard the event as little more than a natural consequence of want of mechanical skill, experience, and presence

of mind, which it would be very easy to acquire in time. The religious and moral uses of such awful dispensations did not seem to occur to his mind, nor indeed to meet with any response when presented to it.

Dined in the evening in the *Champs-Élysées*. Among our company we had an American lady and gentleman, very wealthy, and great travellers; this gentleman mentioned to me a book lately published by Madden, in London, as containing a great deal of very valuable statistical information concerning France<sup>8</sup>. I had heard before that American ladies have lately taken to smoking, but never had personal experience of the fact till this evening: while the American gentleman was smoking his cigar without compunction in our host's *salle à manger*, (much to our annoyance,) his wife and her young friend were regaling the ladies in a similar manner on the terrace of the drawing-room. A young lady said to them very frankly, that, after this exhibition, she should believe all that Mrs. Trollope had written concerning America. These two American ladies were young and good-looking; this novel accomplishment did not add much to their charms.

Our English friends, who have resided here for some time, seem to have a very unfavourable opinion of French education, both for boys and girls. The

<sup>8</sup> The title is, "France and her Governmental Administration," 10s. 6d. London, Madden.

usual practice for French parents is to *bring forward* their children as much and as fast as possible, by associating them with grown-up people, and conforming them to their ways and habits. Thus you see children of five or six years old taking their meals with their parents, faring on the same food, at the same late hours, and listening to their conversation, —sometimes not very edifying—and stimulated to take a part in it, and to show how *spirituels* they are. Hence arises premature independence and insubordination in children, and impatience of parental authority. I have heard it said that another consequence of this encouragement of display in children is a great disregard for *truth*; cleverness and show of wit in their offspring being preferred by their parents to veracity.

The legal degradation of marriage to a *civil contract* has led to its natural results: as a proof of this degradation, it may be mentioned, that it is penal in France for the priest to pronounce the nuptial benediction *before the marriage has been celebrated by the civil authorities*! see for example the case of the curé of Frêche, September, 1830, who was fined for so doing. Such is now the *liberty* of the French Church! *separated* from the State in *theory*, it is *subject* to the worst kind of State-domination in *practice*, in this and in numerous other respects.

To say, however, one word more about marriage: as the boys of French families are retained in thral-

dom in the *collèges* till they take their first degree, when they are suddenly thrown into a state of uncontrolled licence, so the girls are kept, either at home or *en pension*, in a position of domestic or scholastic *surveillance* of a very strict and unconfiding kind, till the time comes for them to be married; and marriage is to them what the bachelor's degree at the University is to their brothers; it opens the door to unrestrained liberty, for which their previous training has generally as little fitted them, as the college education has qualified their brothers for the freedom of the life of a Parisian student either of medicine or of law. Thus, instead of acting upon them as a holy restraint, marriage is often their emancipation from *all* restraint: and no wonder, since it has lost all the sacredness of its character in the public eye; and though the *Church* teaches that it is a *sacrament*, yet, since the administration of it, without the previous consent and agency of the State, is punished by the State as an offence against the law, its sacramental character is obliterated and forgotten.

*Tuesday, August 27.*—Went early this morning to the *Rue des Postes*, hoping to find the Père Ravignan, whose book, "On the Institution of the Jesuits, by a Jesuit," mentioned above, I have just read with great interest. The preparatory discipline and study, as he describes it, of the Jesuits—pursued for nineteen years without intermission—is indeed wonder-

ful, and, together with the principle of *implicit obedience*, seems to be the great secret of their power. They boast that, while all *other* religious orders have become lax in course of time, and have required reforms to reinvigorate them, this has not been the case with the *Jesuits*.

The Père de Ravignan was not at home, and was preparing to leave Paris to-morrow. I walked into the *Ecole de Droit*, where an examination was going on *vivâ voce*; there were four students, in black gowns, and long bands, and two professors also in academical dress, with law-books on a table before them. The questions proposed to the examinees were on the rights of fathers, of husbands, &c., as property of children, wives, &c. The examination-room was small and ill-kept, but the academic costume gave the proceeding a certain degree of dignity, which could not be said of three other examinations which I attended on this and the next day.

The first of these was an examination at the Sorbonne, or *chef lieu* of the University, for the honour of *agrégation*, as it is called (this word is usually spelt in French with one *g*, I know not why), and the young men who are examined are candidates for the distinction as well as emolument of becoming *agrégés* of the University. If, in our English Universities, we had *fellowships*, not in *private colleges*, but in the *University*, we should have something corre-

spondent to these places of *agrégés* ; and if we had annual examinations in the University for these places, we should have something like this *concours d'agrégation* of which I am speaking. In the present year there are forty-one vacancies, and 285 candidates, of which nineteen are for philosophy, thirty-eight mathematics, twenty-four physics, twenty-five history, fifty-two literature, 127 grammar. Of these 285 candidates for *agrégation*, twenty-seven belong to the *école normale*, 171 are tutors or professors in the Parisian colleges, others are *maîtres d'études*, or *surveillans*, in these establishments.

The examinations for *agrégation* which I attended —being the only ones which are going on this week— were in philosophy and mathematics. The former I visited twice. The first time, I found two youths about twenty-one years of age standing opposite to one another, one on one side of a table, and one on the other ; these were two of the candidates. There were many spectators present, sitting on benches rising one above another ; the candidates were between the audience and the examiners, who were seated behind the table on a platform somewhat raised above the floor. The principal examiner was the celebrated M. Cousin, who occupied the centre ; on his right and left sat four other examiners, Messrs. Garnier, Simon, Franck, Jacques : neither examiners nor candidates wore any academic dress.

The question proposed for examination was a

comparison of the Platonic and Aristotelian doctrine concerning ideas. One of the two competitors pleaded the cause of Plato, the other that of Aristotle. The discussion (in French) was sustained on both sides with a good deal of dexterity and fluency of language. The examiners did not interfere for the sake of *moderating* or guiding the disputation.

The following day I attended the same *Philosophy School*, as we should call it. There were the same examiners as before, but only one candidate at the table. M. Cousin opened the proceedings by announcing to the candidate *qu'il avait la parole*, as the expression is, "to give a lecture on the nature and uses of logic;" adding, that he might "take two or three minutes to consider the subject—and then begin." So accordingly the youth did—he was about twenty years of age—and after a very short pause he launched forth into a soliloquy, more than three-quarters of an hour long, with scarcely any pause or intermission of any kind; but it was concerning any thing else rather than about logic: he gave us an exordium about metaphysics, and their uses, and the true principles of philosophizing; and then a little episode to prove that men might arrive at *something like truth* in their reasonings, although it could not be denied that our senses were very liable to deceive us; and then came a refutation of the system of Kant.

The examiners did not exercise any control over

his argument, or remind him that they had proposed a certain subject, and that he was discussing a different one; however, they treated his lecture with not much more respect than he did their subject; for M. Cousin, after having occupied himself with correcting a proof-sheet, left the room; another examiner was writing letters; so that the poor youth was left to say out his say unregarded, like a clock striking in an empty church.

The mathematical examination presented a livelier scene. It was held in an upstairs room in the same building, the Sorbonne; the philosophical being on the ground-floor. The mathematical examiners were sitting at a long table, their faces turned to the spectators, with the exception of *one* examiner, who took the most active part in the examination. He sat with his back to us. At one end of the table was a large black board, and the examinee standing at it with chalk in his hand, working out questions in the *integral calculus*, *viva voce*, and almost at every step interrupted by interrogatories, accompanied with lively gesticulation, from the last mentioned examiner, to which he replied in a very vivacious manner. There was nothing like dignity on the part of the examiner, nor respect on that of the examinee. The examination was rather like a verbal altercation between two equals, than between teacher and scholar; indeed the executive of the University does not seem



to attempt to inspire the feeling of reverence in the minds of those subject to its jurisdiction.

I do not think that I have mentioned that the annual salary of an *agrégé* is 400 francs, and that from their body professors are chosen by the Minister of Instruction to carry on the education of the country.

Went to-day to the Frères Gaume, the publishers, in Rue Cassette. Messrs. Gaume have deserved well of all Christendom by their recent publications of St. Augustine and St. Chrysostom, St. Basil and St. Bernard; and the more so because the outlay necessary for these works was very great, and the prospect of reimbursement uncertain. I was very sorry to hear from M. Gaume, that the result of these undertakings had not been such as to encourage them to proceed further; they had, he told me, originally intended to publish St. Jerome, but had been obliged to abandon the project. It was very gratifying to hear from his mouth, for the theological and literary honour of England, that the principal market for these Patristic works had been in that country. This fact ought to have some weight, and probably will have, in favour of England, in this and other Roman Catholic countries, where the Church of England is commonly regarded as fearing, or contemning, the authority of Christian antiquity.

I asked M. Gaume for a book lately published by

his brother, the Abbé Gaume, *Histoire de la Société Domestique*, to which is prefixed a long and interesting discourse concerning the signs of the times, especially as seen in France, which, in his opinion, indicate the manifestation of the Antichristian sway, and the presence of the Latter Days. In this work the Abbé has collected the principal passages bearing upon this subject, from Holy Scripture and the works of the Fathers, as far as they relate to chronological data, and moral and religious phenomena, with the exception, however, of those particular places of Scripture which appear to many biblical scholars to refer to corruptions and usurpations of a power existing in the Church herself, and appertaining to a *spiritual* form of Antichristianism, which, no less than a *secular* one, that of infidelity and impiety, will, in their opinion, be permitted by Almighty God to try the faith and patience of the Church in the last ages of the world.

The Abbé's exhibition of the Antichristian phenomena of France, now fearfully apparent and distinct, is very interesting and awful. He places the national renunciation of Christianity in France among the works of the Antichristian principle, and supplies abundant reason, by an exhibition in detail of its practical consequences, for serious reflection and apprehension to all who are so rash and shortsighted as to imagine that religion will gain in efficiency, and the Church in liberty, by the complete *separation* of

the *spiritual* from the *secular* power of a nation. He shows that the *result* of this separation in France has been the disorganization of the State, and so far from being the emancipation of the Church, has been, in fact, its subjection to the most abject and galling bondage; and this too, it must be observed, in the case of a church which has a very powerful *extrinsic* support in its favour, that of the Roman See, to which the *State* of France is compelled by circumstances to pay a political reverence.

Here again, while on this important subject of the present relations of Church and State in France, it is worthy of remark that the *Charte* of 1830, the consummation of the last Revolution, and founded on principles purely secular and irreligious, has proved, in its working, the most favourable act to the *Papacy* that has ever been done in France!

The *sixth* article of this *Charte* declares that the "Ministers of the Roman Catholic Religion, professed by the majority of the French nation, and also those of *other Christian denominations*, shall receive salaries from the national exchequer."

France then ceased to have a *Religious Establishment*. The Roman Catholic priesthood was detached from the Monarchy and the State. Their State salary is *no* bond of union between them and the civil power, because a similar State salary is given to ministers of *other* denominations of *Christians*, by the article of the *Charte* just cited; and not a year

elapsed after the ratification of the *Charte*, before this salary was extended even to the *Jewish Rabbis* : (*Ministres du culte Israélite*), who, by the law of February 8, 1831, began to receive an annual salary from the national treasury (*du trésor public*), dating from the 1st January, 1831.

Thus, then, *all* religions (I speak of the *theory*, for *Jews* being *endowed*, there is no ground for objection to the endowment of *any* religion) are endowed by the State in France. But the *practical* result of this *universal endowment* is (as might have been anticipated), that by endowing *all* religions, the State virtually endows *none*. By supporting *all* alike, it supports *none*; and it *receives no support from any*: it is indifferent to all Creeds, and all Creeds in return are indifferent to it. Indeed, they are more than indifferent to it; for, being Creeds, *and therefore having* certain *positive* principles of religion, they look with religious *antipathy* on that very power which pays them, because, *while it* pays them, it shows that it has *no religious* regard for any *one* of them, by paying all other religions alike.

This feeling of religious *hostility* to the State has from various causes been brought out more powerfully in the *Roman Catholic clergy* than in any other religious body. Their position was *changed* by the *Charte* of 1830. Under the Government of the Restoration, they were the Ministers of *la Religion de l'État*, according to the language of the *Charte* of

1814; and even under the *Empire* their condition was very different from what it is *now*. The Emperor was the State. He was a Roman Catholic: and a special provision was made in the *Concordat* of 1801 (art. 17), that, "in the event of the Head of the Nation *not* being a *Catholic*, *then* a *new* Convention should be made, putting the regulations for nomination to Bishops, &c. on a different footing." But *now*, since 1830, the Monarch, as such, is of *no religion*; and, besides this, his responsibility is resolved into that of his *Ministers*, who, *as such*, are of *no religion* also; and thus Religion is severed from the State. It therefore looks on the State as an alien and—I fear we must add—as an apostate; and especially *that* peculiar *form* of religion,—Roman Catholicism—which had been hitherto allied with the State, now feels no sympathy with it, either on religious or on personal grounds,—but is opposed to it on *both*.

It must be remembered also, that in addition to this *repulsion* from the national *Monarchical* centre, the religion of Roman Catholicism is in *all times* acted on by a strong *attractive* force to a *foreign* and *anti-monarchical* one. The Church of France had floated for many centuries in a sort of intermediate moorage, like a sacred Delos bound by chains between the Myconos of the Monarchy on the one side, and the Gyaros of the Papacy on the other. But the *Charte* came in in 1830, and, in an evil hour, it cut

the monarchical cable, and the Delos of the Church was seen immediately looming off to the Romish Gyaros; and the Pontifical fisherman of that island lost no time in seizing hold of *both* the cables, and has now tied the Gallican Delos to himself,

“Immotamque coli dedit, et contemnere ventos<sup>8</sup>.”

The Crown has suffered irreparable injury from this annihilation of the Church as an *Establishment*. The Church being left to itself, has become *extra-national*, and indeed *anti-national*; it declares in a bold and somewhat menacing tone, that the Crown having now become *unchristian*, has no pretence whatever to meddle in the *affairs of the Church*. The King of France, it says, was formerly *Rex Christianissimus*; *as such* he *had* ecclesiastical jurisdiction: but *now* he has renounced that title; and his *Regale*, therefore, is at an end<sup>9</sup>.

The Church of France, it may also be observed, has been changed from Catholic into Papal, as well as from Gallican into Ultramontane; that is to say, it has undergone alteration both in its *religious* and political character. The religious *Orders*, especially the Jesuits, who (it is well known) are bound by a special oath of obedience to the Papacy, in addition to the three other vows common to other orders, are

<sup>8</sup> Virg. *Æn.* III. 77.

<sup>9</sup> See below, p. 166, 167.

operating a silent and gradual change on the spiritual character of the priesthood, and of the people,—both by means of their own society, and by *other* affiliated fraternities and sodalities,—not openly Jesuitical in name and profession. The works of Pères Ravignan and Cahour have tended to familiarize the popular mind, and even to enamour it, with the Jesuitical discipline; the preaching of the former has fascinated the ardent devotees among the women and the young

> men of France—the religious “*Retreats*” (somewhat of the same character as the American *Revivals*) for which the Jesuits are famous, have roused and fed the spirit of pious enthusiasm—miracles and visions, trances and ecstasies, cures and conversions, have come in to fan the fire into a fanatical flame of religious frenzy; and the character of the secular clergy, the priesthood, and even the episcopate, finds itself influenced by a secret and mysterious power which has beguiled it of its religious sobriety, almost without its knowledge, and perhaps against its will.

It must also be observed, that the religion of the *Regulars*—that which I call the *Papal* religion, as distinguished from the *Roman Catholic*—has gained much from the character and proceedings of its *opponents*. Messrs. Quinet, Michelet, &c., are men of great ability; but unhappily they are associated in the public mind with a sceptical and Antichristian system of teaching; and hence it is that when they attack the Jesuits, they are believed to impugn

*religion*: and thus, in the popular notion, the cause of the Jesuits has become identified with that of Christianity; and when charges brought by them against the Jesuits are shown to be exaggerated or unfounded (as they have been in many instances), their own arguments recoil upon themselves, and the cause of their adversaries gains strength from their attacks. The misfortune is—and an unspeakable calamity it is—that the French Monarchy has nothing to set against the Papacy (acting in the Church and by the Jesuits) but what is *termed* Philosophy, and which is Atheism.

Louis Philippe has no force to bring into the field against the Pope, but the Professors of the *Collège de France* and of the *Sorbonne*: and he cannot contend with any prospect of success against such a power,—which has now the episcopate and the secular and regular clergy of France as its allies,—with such weapons as these. He may indeed keep it at bay: he may control it; but, in the meantime, in the persons of his own *auxiliaries*, he is encouraging and developing *other* principles no less dangerous to the Monarchy than those of the Papacy—the principles, I mean, of infidelity, anarchy, and demoralization.

The Crown has been jealous of the Church, and has kept the doors of the colleges of the State closed against her; but it now finds that in so doing it has excluded Christianity; and that it has to deal at



present with a generation which has been educated without any sense of religious obligation, or of moral and civil duty, and which has no more regard for the Throne, or for the Sovereign upon it, than it has for Christianity and the Church.

What would not Louis Philippe give for a National Church, founded on the solid basis of evangelical truth and apostolic discipline, devoted to the Monarchy, and *untrammelled by Rome*? And why should he not endeavour to restore to France the Church of his forefathers? Why should he not attempt to revive the Church of St. Hilary and St. Irenæus? If he could effect this, he would have nothing to fear from the Jesuits; he would have his eighty Bishops devoted to his throne; and he would have no need of the aid of the Antichristian philosophy of the sceptical Professor of the College of France, to encounter the Antichristian policy of the domineering Pontiff of the Church of Rome<sup>1</sup>.

But to return, after this long digression, to M. Gaume.

Among other marks of Antichristianism in France, none perhaps are publicly more apparent than those which are presented by a view of national education. M. Gaume cites particularly those demonstrations which have recently taken place in one of the first, if not *the very* first, academical institutions of the country, the *Collège de France* at Paris. There, Pro-

<sup>1</sup> See note to p. 160, at the end of the volume.

fessors appointed and salaried by the State have had the blasphemous temerity to announce publicly *ex cathedrâ* to their hearers, that the Christian dispensation is but *one* link in the chain of Divine revelations to man! that it has now *served its purpose*, and is soon to be superseded by a *new* publication of the Divine will, of which every man may be the recipient by his own independent act!

Other Professors of the *Collège de France* have as publicly declared to their young scholars, that they have *seen* with their *own* eyes a new prophet, whom God has sent into the world to regenerate it! And these Professors have appealed to their hearers whether *they*, too, have not seen this prophet; and above sixty of them at a time have replied, in a public lecture-room, "*Oui, nous le jurons*, Yes, we swear that we have seen him!" and this dreadful blasphemy has been allowed by the Minister of Instruction and his Council to be broached by national teachers, in the great college of the capital, without any interference or remonstrance!

Other public predications of false prophets are referred to by the Abbé Gaume; and my friend M. Bonnetty has put into my hands a number of his "*Annales de Philosophie Chrétienne*," published in April of this year, 1844, in which there is a full and circumstantial detail of their proceedings\*.

\* I annex the following extracts from the last-named publication on the topic referred to in the text, as a warning to England what

In visiting the publishers and booksellers of Paris, I have been struck with the absence of all enterprise

results may be expected from literary and scientific instruction not founded on a religious basis.

“ M. ADAM MICKIEWICZ (a Professor of the *Collège de France*).

“ M. Mickiewicz est un de ces Polonais qui, à la suite des persécutions de l'empereur de Russie, sont venus en France, doublement chers aux Catholiques comme persécutés et comme leurs frères en croyance. . . . Or, voici ce que ce même M. Mickiewicz est venu annoncer dans la séance du 19 Mars dernier, 1844 :—

“ La Doctrine nouvelle et le Verbe nouveau.

“ Le verbe partiel est pour chacun le *moment* où il trouve la solution d'un problème difficile, où il trace un tableau projeté. Pour exemple : *verbe d'Archimède, verbe de Newton*. Mais voilà que l'homme lui-même est ce *verbe*, pourvu cependant que cet homme soit complet. (Exemples : Alexandre-le-Grand, Jules-César, Napoléon.) Lorsque Napoléon, après une victoire, s'est écrié : ‘ *Je suis l'homme de la France,*’ Napoléon a senti qu'il était le *verbe de la France*. Les hommes qui réalisent même ce verbe partiel sont très-rares, mais ils seront récompensés. Le général en chef est le verbe de l'armée.

“ *On trompe singulièrement le monde quand on dit que Jésus-Christ a tout fait.—Non.—Il faut que chaoun de nous devienne après 2000, après 3000 ans, un autre Jésus-Christ, l'égal de Jésus-Christ.*

“ J'ai prié Dieu qu'il me donnât quelque chaleur et quelque force. J'ai accompli ma mission en vous annonçant le *verbe incarné, nouvellement envoyé parmi nous, et l'honneur d'avoir été trouvé digne de l'annoncer fera la joie de toute ma vie et de TOUTES MES VIES.*

“ Puis d'un cri véhément il a continué : ‘ J'ose sommer ceux d'entre les Polonais et ceux d'entre les Français qui ont approché de ce *verbe* de déclarer s'ils l'ont vu, oui ou non ? ’ Un bruit tumultueux de près d'une soixantaine de voix a répondu par un *oui* prolongé et répété. Tous ces personnes se sont rapidement levées et ont étendu le bras. Une seconde sommation a été suivie d'un nouveau bruit, et de la réponse : ‘ *Nous le jurons.*’

“ Une dame étrangère à la secte, effrayée de cette scène, tomba dans une crispation nerveuse. Des cris mêlés de sanglots se firent entendre parmi les femmes adeptes, dont une est restée quelque temps

with regard to foreign correspondence and agency. First of all, the publishers have establishments, not

les mains jointes, les bras élevés au dessus de sa tête et tendus vers le professeur. Le bruit général couvrait la voix de M. Mickiewicz. Une autre femme a attendu que le *professeur* fût descendu de sa chaire, et alors elle s'est jetée à ses pieds et a voulu les embrasser.

"Voilà comment M. Mickiewicz a annoncé, ou plutôt inauguré un *Messie* nouveau ; ce *Messie* est un Polonais qui porte le nom de *Towianski* ; on sera sans doute curieux de connaître les paroles par lesquelles il s'est annoncé au monde. Nous avons pu nous procurer un exemplaire du fameux *discours* qu'il prononça dans un *repas* ou *banquet*, que M. Mickiewicz appelle la *Cène*, sans doute pour la comparer à la cène du sauveur *Jesus* \*."

"M. TOWIANSKI,

"Ce nouveau *Messie* est venu, il y a trois ans, du fond de la Lithuanie, apporter à ses frères polonais et à la France le bienfait des révélations dont il a été favorisé dans un période de 17 jours, du 24 Décembre au 10 Janvier, nous ne savons de quelle année. Assez longtemps il a produit sa doctrine dans des réunions particulières et devant un petit nombres d'adeptes ; il a formé ainsi une association à laquelle il agrège les hommes et les femmes qui croient en lui. On dit que le nombre en est assez considérable. Après avoir ainsi préparé son œuvre dans le secret, il a cru que le moment était venu de la produire au grand jour, et ce serait d'après ses ordres que M. Mickiewicz aurait fait la scène d'apothéose que nous avons vue. C'est dans un repas au milieu duquel fut reçu un adepte (peut-être M. Mickiewicz lui-même), que fut prononcé le discours suivant :

"DISCOURS D'OUVERTURE DE LA SOLENNITÉ DU 17 JANVIER, CÉLÉBRÉE, INTÉRIEUREMENT ET EXTÉRIEUREMENT, POUR LA PLUS GRANDE GLOIRE DU SEIGNEUR, ET LES PLUS PERVERGES ACTIONS DE GRACE POUR L'ADMISSION DU FRÈRE ——— DANS LE GIRON DU SAINTE MINISTÈRE; CÉLÉBRÉE EN UNE ASSEMBLÉE PETITE ET FAISIBLE ENCORE, COMME IL CONVIENT À CE PREMIER PAS DE L'ŒUVRE QUI S'ACCOMPLIT DANS LE MONDE EXTÉRIEUR, D'UNE ŒUVRE QUI JUSQU'À PRÉSENT ÉTAIT TOUT ENTIÈRE DANS LE MONDE DES ESPRITS. [“ Annonce

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\* *Banquet* du 17 Janvier, 1841, à Paris, chez Béchét, 4, Rue de Sorbonne.

on a large scale, and totally independent of each other, so that you cannot obtain what is published by one at the depository of another; and they neither trouble themselves with the importation of foreign literature, nor, except in a very limited manner, with

“ Annonce de l'œuvre nouvelle.—Théorie des actions humaines.— L'homme est une gaine par laquelle les esprits agissent.—Esprits supérieurs et esprits inférieurs, formés en colonnes et opérant le bien et le mal en ce monde.—La lumière du Christ est éteinte; nécessité d'un 7<sup>e</sup> envoyé.

“ Au nom du Père, et du Fils, et du Saint-Esprit. Ainsi soit-il.

“ Tel est le Messie que M. Mickiewicz a inauguré le 19 Mars au Collège de France.

“ Tel est M. Mickiewicz, tel est M. Towianski !”

“ M. EDGAR QUINET (Professor of the Collège de France).

“ Mais ce ne sont pas seulement quelques adeptes isolés qui ont répondu à leur appel et ont *communiqué* avec eux, selon leur expression. Un autre *Professeur du Collège de France*, déjà connu par divers contingens qu'il a apportés à l'œuvre de la révélation nouvelle, s'écriait en pleine séance, à la fin du mois dernier :

“ Je dois constater, saluer comme un fait important, ce qui se passe à quelques pas d'ici, dans l'enceinte du Collège de la France. Au nom de Slaves, le premier poète des Slaves, notre cher, notre héroïque Mickiewicz, combat de sainte parole pour une cause qui bien souvent se confond avec la nôtre. Qui jamais a entendu une parole plus sincère, plus religieuse, plus *Chrétienne*, plus extraordinaire que celle de cet exilé, au milieu d'un reste de son peuple, comme le prophète, sous les saules ? Ah ! si l'âme des martyrs et des saints de la Pologne n'est pas avec lui, je ne sais pas où elle est. Qui jamais, surtout, a parlé de notre pays, de la France, avec des entrailles de fils, si ce n'est pas cet enfant de la Pologne ? Grâce lui soient rendues ! Ces hommes, messieurs, c'est frères d'armes, ont toujours été à l'avant-garde de nos armées : il est juste qu'ils veuillent être encore, dans le mouvement de la France, à l'avant-garde de l'avenir.”

Such is the language held by Professors in their public lecture-rooms in the College of France. See further details of these melan-

any attempt to introduce their own publications into foreign markets. M. Gondon attributes this to the fact of the *author* and not the *publisher* being usually at the expense of the printing, &c., of his work, so that it is of comparatively minor importance to the publisher whether the work has a rapid sale or not<sup>3</sup>.

Next, there does not exist at Paris the class of large booksellers who are found in London ready to supply you, either immediately or at a short notice, with books from every quarter of the world. I was confirmed in these impressions by a gentleman on whom I called to-day (*Tuesday 27th*), connected with one of the leading religious periodicals of Paris, *Le Correspondant*, which appears twice a month, and has received public encouragement from the Archbishop of Paris, and numbers among its contributors Count Montalembert, M. Lenormant, and other distinguished literati. He said that, whenever he asked for an English book of modern date on a grave subject in a bookseller's shop here, the bookseller would gaze at him with a look of wonder and incredulity.

Calling on a lay literary friend to-day, much attached to the Church of Rome, I heard from him a

choly proceedings in a work entitled, "Les Nouveaux Montanistes au Collège de France, Paris, 1844."

<sup>3</sup> Ces réflexions, qui sont très-justes, s'appliquent surtout aux éditeurs des ouvrages *Catholiques*; car les libraires qui vendent des *Romans* ou des livres anti-chrétiens déploient une très-grande activité dans la propagation de leurs ouvrages.

repetition of the arguments already detailed in this journal in favour of the spiritual supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, and of the advantage derived by the Church from his authoritative interference in controverted questions of doctrine. He justified the exercise of this authority by citing words which he attributed to St. Jerome, "*Roma locuta est ; causa finita est*"—but I requested him to put in the opposite scale the well-known affirmation of the same author, "*Ubique est Episcopus, sive Romæ sive Eugubii, ejusdem meriti est, ejusdem sacerdotii,*" &c. He repeated also the allegations which are usually made by Romanists against the Church of England, on the ground of the Sovereign being the head of the Church, and all power and jurisdiction in the Church being, as they state the case, derived from the Crown.

A book published this year, now in its third edition, and which finds its way into the hands of almost all the clergy in France, entitled *Le Guide des Curés*, by the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Nancy, styles Queen Victoria *Une femme à la fois Reine et Papesse*. The passage is important, not only as showing the writer's views of the *English Church*, but also of his own, (it will be found vol. i. p. 453,) and, therefore, I will transcribe it:—"Aujourd'hui (he says) que le *Catholicisme* a cessé d'être la Religion de l'État (en France), et qu'il est mis au même niveau que le *judaisme* ; aujourd'hui que le Roi n'est pas plus pro-

tecteur de l'Église que des sectes de Luther et de Calvin, le pouvoir civil n'a *plus même l'apparence d'un prétexte pour se mêler des actes* qui rentrent dans les attributions religieuses du *Clergé*. Dès qu'il a provoqué et voulu la *séparation* de l'Église avec l'État, c'est à lui de se renfermer dans le cercle de ses droits civils, et à *laisser l'Église se mouvoir dans sa propre sphère avec la même liberté*. . . . Ce n'est qu'à Petersbourg et à Londres qu'un autocrate qui est Roi-pontife et qu'une femme à la fois Reine et Papesse peuvent s'ériger, en régulateurs du culte et en juges du Clergé, des sectes grecque et protestantes. Mais dans l'Église Catholique il n'y a que les Évêques, les Métropolitains, et le *Pape* pour procéder à l'examen des matières spirituelles et au jugement des membres du Clergé, sous le rapport canonique. . . . Le recours à l'Évêque, au Métropolitain, au Concile, et au *Pape*, est donc *le seul raisonnable, le seul canonique*." Thus, in fact, as one of the consequences of the *Charte*,—all the French Clergy, being *justiciables en dernier ressort* by the Pope, are now liable at any moment to be called out of their own country on a canonical summons to Rome! What would St. Cyprian and St. Augustine have said to this?

But to return to my literary lay theological friend. Here was a very excellent and intelligent person, one of the directors of the public mind, making the assertion above mentioned, either in ignorance or defiance of the Articles of the Church of England; and he



seemed, when I referred him to the XXXVIIth article<sup>4</sup>, and to the declaration therein specified, to be quite surprised that any thing could be said in favour of the royal supremacy in ecclesiastical causes, as exercised in England.

The reading of newspapers and magazines, which is the staple of French modern literature, seems to have filled the mind of those who give the tone to public opinion, with very crude notions on these matters—which they see so often repeated, and repeat so often themselves, that they at last consider them as fixed principles and irrefragable truths. Another position of the same kind was stated by my host, viz.: that appeals to Rome had been habitual in England from the time of St. Augustine to the Reformation. When I referred him first to the lan-

<sup>4</sup> “XXXVII. *Of the Civil Magistrates.*

“The Queen’s Majesty hath the chief power in this realm of England, and other her Dominions, under whom the chief Government of all Estates of this Realm, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Civil, in all causes doth appertain, and is not, nor ought to be, subject to any foreign jurisdiction.

“Where we attribute to the Queen’s Majesty the chief government, by which Titles we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended; we give not to our Princes the ministering either of God’s Word, or of the Sacraments, the which thing the Injunctions also lately set forth by Elizabeth our Queen do most plainly testify; but that *only* prerogative, which we see to have been given always to *all* godly Princes in holy Scripture by *God himself*; that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiastical or Temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.”

guage of the papal legate, who, speaking upwards of a hundred years after St. Augustine's arrival, said, "*A tempore beati Augustini nemo legatus a Roma venit in Britanniam nisi nos;*" next to the case of Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who was put into prison by King Aldfrid (called *piissimus Rex* by contemporary historians, about A.D. 680), and to Anselm, also imprisoned by William Rufus, *because they appealed* to Rome, he replied that these were only *exceptions*, and that the general practice (of which, however, he afforded no evidence) was the reverse of these proceedings.

I was not surprised that he dated the foundation of the Church in Britain from the mission of St. Augustine; this, as has been before said, is the invariable language of Romish controversialists in France. As to the power of the crown and the parliament in matters of *doctrine*, he seemed surprised to hear of the Act of the first year of Queen Elizabeth, which declares that nothing shall be adjudged to be heresy which has not been so adjudged by the Church in the first four general councils, or shall be so pronounced out of Scripture by a general council, or termed heresy by the parliament, with the *assent* of the *clergy* in *convocation*.

With respect to the alleged *unity* in the Romish Church, as contrasted by them with the condition of the Anglican communion, I adverted to the demonstrations of division and discontent, and to the urgent

demands for Reformation<sup>5</sup>, which are now made in various parts of Austria, Bavaria, and Silesia, by the Roman Catholic Clergy, which have been lately brought before the eyes of the English public in the *Quarterly Review*, and have also gained much notoriety in France from two long notices of the subject in the *Constitutionnel*, which shows that the papal influence is, on the whole, much greater at present among the clergy of France than of Germany.

*Wednesday, August 28.*—Concluded my labours at the Royal Library very *à propos*: for the library closes next Saturday, and remains shut during the whole of September. Went afterwards to call on M. Hase, Rue Colbert, close to the library, to thank him for all the civilities and assistance which I had received in his department there. I found him at home and very courteous: he seems to have very extensive knowledge of the history of MSS. as well as to be very expert in the science of Palæography; indeed this is the subject of his lectures. He is a most obliging person, and enjoys a very high reputation not only for learning, but for the readiness with which he communicates the information he possesses. He said that he had great hopes that the normal school would do much for the cause of learning in France. The shelves of his study were stored with a

<sup>5</sup> Will this German Reform decline to Rationalism, or ascend to Catholicity? May not something be done by the members of the Church of *England* to give a right direction to its tendencies?

very good collection of classical books in handsome bindings.

This afternoon, calling on a person of rank and great intelligence, long resident at Paris, and intimately acquainted with all that is going on in the literary, scientific, and aristocratic world here, I heard some extraordinary particulars with respect to animal magnetism, as practised in Paris. Some of these had come under my friend's own personal observation. The description she gave of the *Somnambules*, who are thrown into a trance or *ecstase* by magnetic influence, and are then endued, as is asserted, with supernatural powers of perception (*clairvoyance*), was very singular. One of these, she said, had told her the contents of a folded paper which she held in her hands, and had declared to her what had passed through her mind with respect to it.

She described a process by which, it was asserted, that supernatural communications were made to persons who applied for information. A seven-branched candlestick (the parody is obvious), charged with magnetic influence by being held simultaneously by seven somnambules, was communicated to the inquirer by means of a ramification from it introduced through a wall into the adjoining apartment where the inquirer was. We heard several apparently well-attested statements of extraordinary communications by this and other similar means. The operation, real

or believed, of magical power, which seems to have many votaries in this place, is a very fit accompaniment of those other delusive pretences to supernatural revelations which have been before noticed in these pages. (pp. 98, 160—164.)

After such statements it would appear rash to assert that correspondence with the "powers of the air," and "with the Prince of them," is impossible; and the success, in a temporal sense, of such correspondence seems to be a fit penalty for tampering with spiritual deceits, the apparent *verification* of error being the punishment for choosing error instead of truth;

" 'Tis strange,—

And oftentimes to win us to our harm,  
The instruments of Darkness tell us truths,  
Win us with honest trifles, to betray us  
In deepest consequence."—*Shakespeare, Macbeth, act i. sc. 3.*

The scriptural laws against witchcraft are a recognition of its *existence* and of its *force*; and how could it have been placed by St. Paul among the "works of the flesh," if it had no being?

There seems to be more analogy between the *spiritual* Antichristianism which deludes men by lying wonders, such as the robe of Argenteuil above-mentioned, and the animal magnetism of the secular and sceptical saloons of Paris, than at first sight strikes the mind; and it is hardly possible to deny that the same Evil Spirit works by these, who dictates the

language of the infidel professor in his class-room at the College of France.

Indeed the development of Antichristianism in *various* and *contrary* forms, which at present strike the eye so forcibly at Paris, cannot but fill the mind with the most awful apprehensions with regard to the explosions, which, in all human probability, will take place in this country in a very brief period of time, and will not only shake the social and political fabric of France to its foundations, but will convulse the institutions of neighbouring countries. Ere long the world, it would seem, will be a witness of a fierce struggle between papal and infidel principles. The civil powers of the earth will probably combine against the popedom: but with what allies? and with what results?—These are grave questions.

While upon this matter, we may notice another national academic act of scepticism, or partizanship of it, which has just been exhibiting itself at Paris. The annual meeting of the great philosophical and literary body of this country, the *Académie Française*, has just taken place. The constitution of this society is well known; it contains all the so-called wisdom, science, learning, and talent of the country.

The grand anniversary, which was held this week, was, this year, made more remarkable by the part played in it by the *Minister of Instruction*, M. Villemain, who announced the decision of the annual prize for the best French essay on a proposed subject.

He awarded the prize, and commented in an elaborate speech on the subject for competition, and on the productions of the various competitors. The theme proposed by the Academy to the literati of France for the encouragement of their labours, and the exercise of their talents, was an eulogy of *Voltaire* ! This was the topic treated in the essay which received the honours of the assembled wisdom and learning of France, and was lauded by the voice of the Minister of Public Instruction ! After M. Villemain's speech in honour of Voltaire, M. Scribe (the famous author of a hundred *vaudevilles*), member of the Academy, distributed the annual prizes to the amount of nearly twenty, adjudged to the acts of "*public virtue*," which had been performed in France within the year.

*Friday, August 30.*—Paid a second visit to the Abbé Migne's Imprimerie. I have never seen any of his publications at any bookseller's shop in Paris, and I suppose their cheapness will prove an obstacle rather than an advantage to their circulation through the hands of the trade. He has no correspondent in England, and has not even a catalogue or advertisement of his publications. This is another specimen of the lack of enterprise in the publishing world here ; it is well known that booksellers' catalogues are almost a nonentity in Paris ; some of the *publishers* do circulate catalogues of their own books, and they have a good way of printing short abstracts

on separate sheets of paper, of their leading publications, which give to the distant applicant and dealer a very good notion of the object and contents of the work.

Went to the Barrière of Charenton, near which, in the *Rue des trois sabres*, is a recently established (*viz.* in 1842) Institution for *Diaconesses des Eglises Évangéliques de France*, as they term themselves, or *Sœurs de Charité Protestantes*. We were very kindly received by Mad. Malvesin, the Sœur Supérieure, who is a very pleasing and affable person, and very simple in her manners and address. The costume of these sisters is certainly a great improvement on that of their namesakes, the elder *Sœurs de Charité*, without being very different from it. This Institution differs in principle from the Society of the Romish Communion in the following respects. First, there are no *vows*, but only simple engagements for not more than two years, which may be dissolved for good reasons with the permission of the governing body. *Point de séclusion* is another circumstance in which these sisters state that they differ from the Romish sisterhood.

It is certain that the conductors of this establishment desire to make it a religious one ; the walls are inscribed with numerous Scripture texts ; there are Bibles in all the rooms of the sisters ; and there is a chapel in the building where they assemble for



prayer, singing psalms, reading and exposition of Scripture, morning and evening daily.

But here comes out an unhappy want of *principle*, a defect which is at the root of the system. The Institution is under the control jointly of the *two* different Protestant communions recognized and paid by the State in France, *viz.* the Reformed or Calvinistic, and the Lutheran or Confession of Augsburg; hence it has, and can have, *no common Catechism*, and *no basis of unity*; it must differ in several distinctive points—of sacraments, discipline, and doctrine. So the chapel *has a pulpit*; but it has *no altar*. The daily expositions of Holy Scripture in the chapel are given by the *Sœur Supérieure*, or by one of the other *Sœurs* deputed by her for the occasion, and are delivered extempore. The Society claims, in the official prospectus of its constitution, to have no other basis than the *Gospel* (*de ne pas avoir pour base que l'Évangile*); but it is difficult to see how the members of the sisterhood can consistently with this assertion take upon themselves the title of *Deaconesses*, without any due mission; and how can they reconcile their profession of a *Scriptural* foundation with their daily practice of *expounding Scripture*, when they meet in the Book which they expound with the prohibition which suffers them “not to teach?”

It is not wonderful that the principles of any

Protestant communion, such as the Church of England, however Scriptural and Catholic, should not be allowed by Romanists in France to be either Scriptural or Catholic, when the two forms of Protestantism, with which they are most conversant, (I mean, the modern Calvinistic and Lutheran, the religious services of both which communions are conducted in the vernacular language of the country, and they are the only forms of Protestantism publicly known and recognized by the State,) differing as they do in fundamental principles and practice from each other, are still seen combining together to form a Society, which sets at defiance, in its daily usages, the great principles of Scriptural, Primitive, and Catholic Church government and discipline.

The very interesting conversation which we had with the Sœur Supérieure, who appeared to be wholly devoted to the duties of her office, and to be admirably qualified for the discharge of the functions which belong to such a position, made us feel more deeply the lamentable consequences arising from the neglect and contempt of these practical principles of Apostolical Church regimen. May it please Almighty God to give free scope to the *good* which these devout sisters have at heart, and for which they are ready to devote themselves body and mind, and may it please Him to remove the *evil* which threatens not only to frustrate in a great degree their pious exertions, but also to confirm the Romanist in his corrupt

practices and erroneous doctrines, and *so far* to impede the course of pure Evangelical truth and Apostolic order in this country !

The Superior put into our hands several printed Reports of their proceedings. I will only refer to one, the most recent, which gives an account of the annual service in the Chapel, above described, of this Institution. It there appears that this anniversary was opened with prayer, which was followed by a psalm and by *five* consecutive *sermons* or homilies preached by *five* different *pastors* ! but on this solemnity, which was so honoured by *preaching*, there was no celebration of the Holy Communion ; indeed it would seem to be impossible for these sisters and their pastors, who form (as they suppose) *one religious society*, to meet together to celebrate the divinely appointed Feast of Unity in the Christian Church !

It is much to be hoped that Societies of Sisters of Charity, which may be formed in England and other countries, may imitate this institution at the *Barrière de Charenton* in an earnest resolve to be *religious and Christian establishments* ; but that they may avoid the deplorable error into which it has fallen of building on a false foundation, and in endeavouring to reconcile things that are incompatible, and so defeating its own designs.

We had been urged by a friend to go to the *Ambigu Comique* theatre, to see a piece called the "*Miracle*

*des Roses*," as being a religious story, and showing, by the reception which it met with from the audience, that there was a good deal of religious feeling still existing in the middle and lower orders in France, and only requiring to be elicited. We went accordingly this evening. The play is founded on the history of St. Elizabeth of Hungary, which has lately been made familiar to the French public by the pen of Count de Montalembert. I cannot say that the anticipations we had been led to entertain were at all realized. Though the play, it is true, has not only a religious cast (though not consistently so), but a decidedly Roman Catholic one, we did not however perceive that the expressions in it indicating this character met with favourable response from the hearers. The great attraction of the "*Miracle des Roses*," as was evident from the marked applause which it called forth, was (what in our opinion was the worst part of it, viz.) a succession of *tableaux*, which divided the piece into thirteen portions—*Acts* being superseded by them. These *tableaux* were certainly wonderful feats of stage decoration and mechanical *léger de main*, and exhibited an extraordinary series of celestial scenery and music, of religious solemnities in royal oratories, of baronial halls, and African deserts, of storms, inundations, and conflagrations, of angelic apparitions, and of cemeteries for lepers, and such like; and it seemed to us a proof of great literary degeneracy, and intellectual feeble-

ness, that recourse was made to such trickery, justifying the repetition of the complaint—

“ . . . migravit ab aure voluptas  
Omnis ad incertos oculos et gaudia vana,”

and much more that such auxiliaries as these should be pressed into the service of religion, and that attempts should be made to popularize Christianity<sup>6</sup> by devices which must inevitably have the effect of rendering the public mind in France less disposed to receive religion in its native purity and simplicity, if it should ever come to be presented to it in that form.

There were many points of morality in the dialogue of the drama which were irreconcilable with Chris-

\* Cette appréciation est complètement fautive. Ce n'est pas la religion qui demande au théâtre son auxiliaire pour populariser le *Christianisme* ; mais c'est le théâtre qui vient emprunter à la religion les poétiques légendes de ses saints dans un but tout profane et industriel. Y a-t-il lieu d'exprimer une grande surprise que le langage prêté à des auteurs ne soit pas en parfaite harmonie avec la doctrine Chrétienne ? Les auteurs des pièces jouées à l'Ambigu Comique n'ont jamais eu la prétention d'être théologiens, et les théologiens Catholiques ne se sont pas encore occupés de travailler pour les théâtres du boulevard. Quelque blâmable que puisse être le fait de représenter sur une scène profane les cérémonies de la religion et les miracles de la Puissance Divine, le spectateur intelligent n'en est pas moins forcé de reconnaître que si le théâtre ne donnait que des pièces de la nature de celle dont il est question ici, il cesserait d'être une école de crimes et d'immoralité. Quelle qu'ait été l'ignorance théologique ou l'inhabileté de l'auteur, j'aime mieux voir le peuple applaudir au *Miracle des Roses*, qu'au succès d'un époux adultère, aux intrigues obscènes d'une vaudeville, et aux sarcasmes lancés contre la religion.

tian doctrine. I may notice, by-the-bye, an incidental inconvenience of all these scenic manœuvrings. In one of the most magnificent *tableaux*, some of the ropes and pulleys went wrong, and the wooden and canvass framework of a fine old tree came in contact with one of the lights which was to produce a brilliant transparency. Some of the combustible material was thus ignited, and there was a general cry of alarm of fire; women started from their seats in the pit near us, and were rushing eagerly to the narrow corridors and outlets of the house, when providentially the efforts of the scene-shifters in putting a stop to the fire and adjusting the machinery were successful.

*Saturday, August 31.*—Received a visit from M. Boissonnade, who brought me a copy of his small edition of Theocritus. He also, like his brother academician M. Hase, seems to have good hopes of the progress of learning in France. One little circumstance which he mentioned did not seem to me to afford a very favourable prognostic; he said that publishers of classical books in France were very unwilling to undertake any editions with *Latin* notes, and they made it almost a *sine quâ non* that critical or explanatory observations upon classical authors should be written in *French*. I told him that a similar disposition had in some degree prevailed among English publishers of classical works, and that it had exercised a very pernicious influence in practice, but that

it seemed to be on the wane at present, and that probably the ancient habit in this respect would gradually be restored.

Went to-day to the Louvre, to see the rooms for Egyptian and other antiquities, which have been recently added to the museum. They are very splendid, but a description of them would be out of place here. In the first of the rooms is a large portrait of the present king, an object, as I have before said, rarely to be seen in Paris.

While we are on this subject, let me observe, that at this moment there are *no* such things as *Royal Arms* in France. Over the shops you see frequently the words, *Breveté du Roi*, indicating that the *marchand* there resident has received a patent from the Crown for some invention or other; and surmounting these words is a large gilt escutcheon, *purporting* to be the Royal Arms, but what the Royal Arms *are* is left in complete uncertainty: the old Gallic *Fleurs de Lis* have faded from their ancient place, and what, or whether anything, is to be substituted in their stead, does not seem yet to have been determined. In the interim, on most of the shields, in the place of heraldic devices, are inscribed the *first four articles* of the *Constitutional Charter* of 1830, "*Tous les Français sont égaux devant la loi*," &c. &c. Those emblazonments which affect to be more loyal to the Crown than the rest, have simply the initials "L. P." (Louis Philippe) characteréd upon the shield. Monarchical

insignia are disappearing rapidly from the face of France. The old ones have been destroyed, and the present dynasty has not created new ones in their stead; indeed Royalty seems ready to vanish away.

We visited the neighbouring church (to the Louvre), *St. Germain Auxerrois*, one of the few ancient Gothic churches of Paris. It is undergoing repair; but though some of the restorations are in good style, they are so lamentably disfigured in the interior by a great deal of tawdry and incongruous work, introduced without any regard to the general character of the building, that the effect of the whole does not promise to be at all solemn or impressive.

The misfortune seems to be a radical one. It is well known that the churches of France are no longer publicly regarded as the houses and property of *Almighty God*. The title-deeds of consecration, by which they passed from human hands into Divine, have been all cancelled and destroyed, and now the churches of this country are by law held to be the property, not even of the Church in trust, but of secular Corporations: they belong either to the *Communes*, or to a Board of Trustees called *Fabricsiens*, and the board itself is termed the *Fabrique* of the Church. The building and reparation of churches depends therefore upon the taste of individuals, who frequently have no *ecclesiastical* feeling or knowledge, whatever may be their acquaintance with *secular*



architecture. It is not much to be wondered at, therefore, that the sacred edifices of Paris which have been recently erected (and the same applies to *restorations*), are for the most part planned and executed in a spirit much more appropriate and congenial to a Greek or Roman temple than to a Christian church. The ecclesiastical interference is so jealously excluded from participation in church building or church restoration, that—a fact hardly credible if it did not rest on the best authority—it often happens that the first time that a Bishop hears of the erection of a church in his diocese, is when he is called upon to *consecrate* it! What the consecration is supposed to do, as it does not give the church to God, it is not easy to understand

Went in the afternoon to the *Collège des Irlandais, Rue des Postes*, with Sir R. A. Chermiside, who intro-

<sup>7</sup> On ne construit jamais d'église en France sans le consentement et le concours des évêques, et même le plus souvent c'est sur leur demande et après de pressantes sollicitations de leur part.

My friend, to whom I am indebted for the above note, will, I am sure, allow me to quote the following words of a Bishop's Vicar-General, and of a Bishop, on this subject, in justification of my own assertions in the text :—

“ N'est-il pas vrai qu'on ordonne tous les jours des réparations à la cathédrale d'un évêque sans même lui en parler ? Les Communes votent chaque année la destruction d'une église, font dresser des plans, et bâtissent de nouvelles églises sans même qu'on consulte l'évêque. Il n'en est le plus souvent instruit, que quand il s'agit de les consacrer.”—*Abbé Dieulin, Guide des Curés*, I. p. 443. Lyon, 1844. Again, the Bishop of Langres (*Tendances*, p. 90), asks, “ Lorsqu'il s'agit de bâtir une église, qui est-ce qui en décide souverainement ? N'est-ce pas l'autorité départementale toute seule ?”

duced me to one of the Professors and to the Principal. The college, as I was told by the former, was founded "in the time of the persecution" in Queen Elizabeth's reign. It now contains about a hundred students; this is vacation time, but nearly half the number still remain here. The system of instruction is much the same as that of *St. Sulpice*, the great Parisian seminary for ecclesiastics. The usual time of residence is four years; but in cases where the student shows special aptitude for theological learning, it is extended to twice that term, and endowments (*bourses*, or *demi-bourses*) are applied in those cases to ease the charges of instruction. "The young ecclesiastics trained here are generally preferred by the Irish higher clergy, to those educated at Maynooth," said the Professor, speaking at the same time favourably of those trained in the *Dunboyne* establishment, the *élite of Maynooth*; and the reasons he gave for the preference were, the opportunity afforded to ecclesiastical students in a large city like Paris for learning the *Ceremonial* of the Roman Catholic Church, and becoming familiar with all the practice of the Ritual; next, the acquisition of a knowledge of the writings of French theological controversialists, preachers, &c., was very advantageous.

The great *disadvantage* under which the college labours, seems to be, that it is under no direct ecclesiastical or academic superintendence, but is left isolated and abandoned to itself. From the same

cause, I suppose, which has separated all the other ecclesiastical seminaries in France from the National University, viz that the principles of the latter are hostile to the Church, the students of this Irish College never take any University Degree in Theology.

When I asked how any Irish divines ever became *Doctors*, the Professor said that they sometimes went to Louvain, but the usual mode was a shorter one: the merits of the theologian in question were made known at the Vatican, and a *bonnet de docteur* was sent him by the Pope. This exercise of *universal academical* power, by the See of Rome, in addition to its ecclesiastical jurisdiction, deserves notice. I observed that, in speaking of the late Dr. Baines, of Prior Park, the Professor styled him, *not* Vicar Apostolic, but *Bishop* of the Western District of England.

The College is a very spacious building, not very well kept, somewhat like Maynooth in slovenly looks, but the students have a grave and serious appearance. I observed one kneeling at his devotions on the ground in the large quadrangle, where others were walking, or sitting on the benches reading. The system, as I have said, of education resembles that of St. Sulpice; this is specially the case with respect to the two important exercises of daily meditation and periodical preaching.

In the Principal's room is a map of the estates of

Ireland as they were in olden time, before they came (by confiscation, &c.) into the hands of the present English and other landed proprietors. He pointed out to me the estates which had belonged to his own family.

This evening we had a visit from one of the Benedictines. He came in his monastic habit, having passed through the streets of Paris from one end of the city almost to the other. He brought me a present from the Superior of his Order, Dom Guéranger, a copy of his *Institutions Liturgiques*, 2 vols. 8vo, in the fly-leaf of one of which the author had inscribed some very friendly remembrances, and wishes for union, which I insert as a pleasing memorial of a venerable and learned ecclesiastic, of whom I shall always preserve a very agreeable recollection :—

Reverendo Eruditoque  
 Doctori  
 CHRISTOPHORO WORDSWORTH,  
 In alma Cantabrigiensi Universitate  
 olim  
 Oratori Publico  
 hoc quaecumque Liturgicæ Scientiæ tentamen  
 offert Auctor  
 Benedictino-Gallicæ Congregationis  
 Præses  
 In memoriam dulcissimi colloquii  
 Et in Spem Commericii diuturnioris  
 Quod utinam Deus arctius in Christo et in Petro  
 devinciat.  
 Parisiis, viii Kal. Septembris  
 M.DCCC.XLIV.

Our Benedictine visitor, who possesses a dignity of character mixed with much gentleness and modesty which is very pleasing, has written a long Latin letter, which he has brought with him and has left with me, requesting me to make inquiries in one of the Cambridge libraries for a very ancient MS. Greek Psalter, which is asserted by authorities whom he cites to exist at Emanuel College, Cambridge. He spoke hopefully of the prospect of religion in France, referring especially to the vast congregations which attended the preaching of De Ravignan and Lacordaire, and to the effects produced among the lower classes by the Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes.

The French Legislature and Government have, in the opinion of the clergy, abandoned religion altogether; and the idea of endeavouring to infuse a Christian spirit into them through the Church, was one which he could not be induced to consider as at all practicable; indeed, the clergy, as far as we have seen, and the Catholic laity also, seem, if we may so express it, to have abandoned the State as reprobate, and *given it up as incurable*. The argument which they generally employ, and which our friend the Benedictine used on the present occasion, is, that the experiment has *already been tried* without success in one of the most vital questions, that of *National Education*; that the *Charte* of 1830 promised Liberty of Instruction to the Clergy as well as to all other

classes of the community: that since 1830—that is, for a period of fourteen years—the Bishops of the Church had been petitioning and expostulating with the Government, in the hopes of obtaining by gentle measures the exercise of a right which belonged to them by Divine as well as human law; but that all their endeavours have been fruitless, and that the state to which they are reduced is this, that the Bishops have no control over the national education as administered in any schools of their own dioceses (except the clerical seminaries); that they have no power of inspecting these schools; that the appointment of schoolmaster is entirely a secular one, without any licence or approval from the Bishop; that the Curé cannot open a school for the poor in his own parish, and cannot instruct a class of more than three children together in his own house; that what is true of the education of the *poor* is equally applicable to that of the children of the middle classes and of the rich; that the licence to open a boarding-school can only be derived from the secular power; that even the chaplains of these schools are appointed by the State; that the inspection is administered by the University, which is entirely under the control of the Minister of Public Instruction, and which is so deeply tainted by the spirit of scepticism and infidelity, that it is better that the ecclesiastical students of the seminaries should be altogether excluded from University honours and degrees than be

submitted to an examination before an academic tribunal.

Hence, upon this question of *Education*, the efforts of the Church for fourteen years having proved abortive for the attainment, by *temperate* means, of a recognition of its rights, they declare that there is now a *casus belli*, and the communication which has lately taken place between the two parties in the Chambers, and between the Bishops and the University, has been recently of such a character as to show, that the opportunity for an amicable understanding between them has well nigh passed away for ever<sup>a</sup>.

It must, I think, be confessed, that in their dealings with the State, the clergy have not always been animated with a right spirit. They have suffered much ill-treatment from it, it is true ; but they have not received it in a dignified manner. They have not, as Christian teachers, respectfully but earnestly laboured to *recall* the State to a sense of its duty to the Church, nor have they reminded it of its need of a Church, as a *National Institution*, for the preservation of public peace. Nor have they discharged their duty to a higher Power by boldly declaring to the State its own duty to the Supreme Ruler of empires, and its consequent *obligation* to maintain true religion, as the only means of securing His favour and protection. They seem to have forgotten the precepts of Almighty God in Holy Scrip-

<sup>a</sup> See note at end, to p. 190.

ture, commanding His ministers to proclaim, in season and out of season, to kings and rulers, the great truth of their Christian responsibilities ; and they have not imitated the examples of his *prophets* in the Old Testament, calling on princes and people, in their royal capacities and *public* character, to *repent* and to *amend* their ways, whenever they had swerved from their religious duty to Him.

The clergy of France has not, I say, discharged this *prophetical* character, in an age which, from its corruptions in doctrine and practice, imperatively required this office of Christian zeal, courage, piety, and charity, at their hands. The Church in France has not been true to the solemn commission which she has received as a Church, to be a light set in the house, a city built upon a hill. Instead of regarding the Word of God as her only rule, she has treated the revolutionary *Charte* of 1830, as if it were *inspired* ! That *Charte* proclaims the miserable and deistical principle of the *equality* of *all* religions ; and yet the Clergy receive the *Charte* as their own watch-word, under which they are willing to fight. It is their Gospel. They seem to have no feeling of patriotic sorrow and pity for their country, stultified by an arrogant philosophy, and enslaved by a licentious liberty ; and instead of labouring to reform what is amiss, and to purify what is corrupt in the national mind, they appear to be in love with the delusions of their country ; they fight under the ban-



ners of the Revolution, which warred against Revelation, and, as far as it was able to do so, overthrew the foundations of Christianity.

They say, indeed, that they are *obliged* to use this appeal to a *false* principle, and to rest their claim of the Church upon it, because they have to plead before those who will not admit the *truth*. What right (we would enquire) have they to assume that they will not admit the *truth*? Have they attempted to inculcate it? Have they come forward to proclaim to the State its duty to the Church? Their Bishops have published their manifestos, asserting the *liberty* of the Church to educate those who are willing to be taught by her, because, forsooth, the *Charte* of 1830 accords that liberty to *all*! But they have never maintained her *right* and her *duty* to educate the *nation*. If the eighty Bishops of France had presented themselves before the public with *this* assertion in their mouths, as they have done with the *other*, if they had rested their claims upon the Divine commission given by Christ Himself to His Church, "Feed my sheep, feed my lambs; go and *teach* all nations;" if they had shown that His command to *preach* involves an *order* to *teach*, and that, being the word of Christ, this order cannot be disobeyed; they would have had a good cause based on a sound foundation; and they would, probably, have had the People of France on their side; and, if not, they would at least have had the satisfaction of having

done their duty to their country ; and they would have been *confessors* of the *Church*, instead of being *martyrs* to the *Charte*.

Another observation here. Finding the State in a sullen mood, and being in a bad humour themselves ; and irritation on the one side naturally producing fresh asperities on the other, the French clergy have played the part of spoilt children at school, who, when chastised by their master, go home and tell their parents, who are sometimes silly enough to take the part of their wayward offspring against the authority which would cure them of their caprices. So the French clergy, when coerced by law—sometimes very harshly and unjustly, it is true—immediately take to their heels, and run away from school across the Alps to the Pope, whose paternal heart is moved by the sight of the ill treatment his children have received, and who embraces them in his pontifical arms, and by the affectionate reception which he gives to the fugitives, excites them to become infinitely more restive and refractory than they were before, and sends them back to school to plague their master, King Louis Philippe, out of his life, by new and more ingenious arts of Ultramontane irritation.

Thus the Church of France strengthens herself against the State by identifying herself with the Papacy ; she also taunts the State with the separation which has taken place between it and herself.

"You," it says to the State, "have been the cause of the severance, and you must take its consequences. You have broken the treaty of alliance; and yet you still claim to exercise control over me: but I protest against such tyrannical usurpation. As long as you were *Christian* and *Catholic*, it was reasonable enough for me to allow you to mix yourself up with my affairs; but *now* that you have become Jew and Jansenist in your codes, and Deist and Pantheist in your colleges, I renounce all your jurisdiction! Gallican Articles of 1682, Concordat of 1801, Organic Laws of 1802, Ordonnances concerning *Appels comme d'Abus*, these, and all other ecclesiastical statutes, are *ipso facto* abrogated and null, as though they had never been, by the unchristian, heretical, and infidel character, which you, in your political wisdom, have thought fit to assume. What pretence have you *now* to meddle with my affairs? *Res tibi tuas habe*; take care of your own concerns, and let me manage mine. I interdict you from all commerce with me. I denounce your touch as profane. What! shall an heretical government take cognizance of the affairs of a Christian Church? Shall Catholic Bishops give an account of their proceedings, not to the successor of St. Peter, but to a *multifidian* Privy Council? Shall the cause of religious congregations of holy men and women, of saintly Jesuits and venerable Carmelites—who unite together for the purposes of mutual Christian edification—be brought

before a State Tribunal which represents almost as many religions as it has members? Heaven forbid! this is an injury and an iniquity which I will never suffer to be perpetrated. I must listen to the voice of inspiration: 'Be ye not unequally yoked with unbelievers; what communion hath light with darkness? Wherefore, come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and I will receive you.'<sup>o</sup> Whatever, then, may be the consequences to you and to myself, I repudiate your claim to exercise any jurisdiction whatever in ecclesiastical matters; I affirm, that I have reason and religion on my side; I have also the constitution of our country in my favour; I invoke the *Charte* which declares, that 'all Frenchmen are equal in the eye of the law; that every one shall profess *his own religion* with an equal liberty, and enjoy for it the *same protection*,' and which guarantees liberty of teaching to all: I have a great and growing power on my side; therefore, I bid you to beware, and to give me that which I now ask as a suppliant, but for which I shall soon contend as a combatant, *that* for which we will sacrifice our lives, and which we are resolved to win at any cost—*Liberty*, complete, inalienable LIBERTY."

Such is the language of the Church of France to the State at this time. During the last three years, since the breaking out of the war between the

<sup>o</sup> 2 Cor. vi. 14—17.



Bishops and the University, and the censure, on the part of the government, of the Bishop of Châlons (8th Nov. 1843), and of the Archbishop of Paris (8th March, 1844), on account of the part taken by them *against* the University, the strife has been waxing warmer and warmer ; and the question of the rights of the *Regale* on the one side, and of the *Pope's supremacy* on the other, mooted by M. Dupin in his *Manual* ; and, thirdly, that of the jurisdiction of the State over *Religious Orders*, have all served to add fresh fuel to the flame of discord between the civil and ecclesiastical powers, which will not, I fear, be extinguished for many years, and will probably extend itself with rapidity and violence, into almost every country of Europe.

*Sunday, September 1.*—After morning church to-day, a friend carried me to a Polish acquaintance, who conducted me to call on the celebrated Abbé De la Mennais, of whom I had had some little knowledge at Rome about twelve years ago. At that time he was the most important and influential person of his order in France ; and he had about him a number of distinguished literary, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical followers, some of whom (as Count Montalembert) are now playing important parts in the political and religious world. His attempt to unite popular with papal principles, as the only means of maintaining the cause of Religion and the Church after the political storms of 1830, in which

so many governments had been wrecked, was conceived and carried on with great energy and ability in his newspaper, the *Avenir*, and other periodicals and publications.

I heard it said the other day, that 19-20ths of the clergy in France were at that period his partizans; but Rome disapproved the scheme, and a public condemnation of some of the writings above referred to was issued from the Vatican in 1833 and 1834. The change in the tide of feeling with respect to the doctrines of the Abbé and his followers, which took place immediately in France, and throughout the Roman Catholic world, upon the appearance of this papal edict, has often been cited in the last ten years as a proof of the power of Rome, and of the advantage derived from the existence of an authority which can exercise a vigorous control in questions of doctrine over the Church. However, it is probable that Rome saw the turning of the tide, and availed herself of it. Since that time the party of the *Avenir* has been broken up, and there is very little intercourse between the followers and their former leader.

The consequences of this separation are deeply to be lamented. The Abbé, thrown out of his former sphere, disappointed of all his hopes, repulsed and condemned by the power to which he believed that he had rendered and was rendering important service<sup>1</sup>; his writings, which had been honoured with almost

<sup>1</sup> See extract from the *Semeur*, below, p. 240.

universal homage, now stigmatized as heretical ; he himself abandoned by all his disciples, and regarded with antipathy and suspicion by the clergy ; in an evil hour he gave way to feelings of impatience, disappointment, and disdain, and threw himself into the hands of a class of sceptical philosophers, who, under the pretence of advocating universal charity and toleration, undermine the foundations of that religion upon which charity rests for its guidance and support.

We found him sitting in his room, of which almost the only ornament was an engraving of Napoleon, with no mark of his ecclesiastical character either in his dress or person. Though not aged he looked sad, pale, and worn ; this was to be ascribed in some degree to the year's imprisonment, and that of the most rigorous kind, which he has lately suffered, and to which he was condemned for some political animadversions on the Chamber of Peers. Twenty years ago his writings exercised the most powerful influence in *favour* of the religious and social institutions of the country ; but now—it is lamentable to think of the change.

Is there not, it may be asked, something in the papal system to which it may be ascribed, that one of the most eminent writers of the age, and, perhaps, the most powerful among the intellectual ornaments of his country, has been driven from an advocacy of Papal principles, first into a combination of demo-

cratical ones with them ; and next, into a renunciation of them altogether, and with them, of the positive laws of Christianity ? The gentleman who introduced me to the Abbé De la Mennais, and who was one of his intimate friends, assured me that the Abbé had received from Rome the offer of a Cardinal's hat<sup>2</sup>, on the understanding that he would not give expression to any declarations unfavourable to the See of Rome, and that he had declined the offer, on the ground of being unable to satisfy his conscience without giving vent to his convictions.

The Abbé asked me about the religious discussions in England ; what was the character and aim of the present movement in that country, of which they hear so much in France ? Having endeavoured to satisfy him upon this point, I asked his own opinion on the questions at issue. He said that we dealt with these questions too *theologically* in England ; that they ought to be treated upon *wider*, by which he meant *rational*, principles : indeed, from his conversation, it was evident that he had removed himself out of the sphere of revealed religion, as bounded by fixed and unchangeable limits, and was dwelling in an intellectual world in which Christianity was only *one* of various elements, and *that a subordinate* one. It seems that his philosophical system is intended to combine and perfect all wisdom past and present, and looks for its full development to some

<sup>2</sup> Cette allégation est tout-à-fait invraisemblable.



mighty regeneration, which is anticipated to take place at no very distant time.

He stated fully the evils inherent in the papal system, and having so done, proceeded to show that Protestantism (by which he understood the mere Protestantism of *negations*, with which alone he seemed to be conversant,) was by no means suited to satisfy the spiritual wants of men, as a substitute for that system to which, he said, for many strong reasons, it was justly opposed. He seemed to think that Christianity looked for a further development of itself, in which its positive rules, liturgical, ritual, &c., would be absorbed in an universal spiritual adoration of the Supreme Being, and in a *plenum* of peace and charity to all mankind.

This evening (Sunday, 1st), at 7 o'clock P.M., at the church Nôtre Dame des Victoires, at vespers. The church was full from one end to the other, and the congregation very attentive and devout. The church is of considerable size, and the aisles as well as the nave were crowded. The day was one of solemn observance, it being not only Sunday, but also the Festival of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, and a day of *réunion* of the *Archi-confrérie*, connected with this church, which is organized specially for the purpose of prayers to the Virgin (to whom the church is dedicated) for the conversion of heretics, schismatics, and infidels,—a society which enjoys a high reputation, and has a large number

of members, many of whom were ranged before one of the side altars, which was brilliantly illuminated.

The vespers were chanted with great spirit; there was scarcely a single person of the congregation who did not join energetically in the chant; and on the whole the service in this respect presented one of the happiest specimens of social fervent worship, by an united congregation, which it has ever been my good fortune to witness in this country. When we consider that a large proportion of the congregation consisted of women of the middle and lower classes, and that the whole of the psalms chanted were in *Latin*, it seems unreasonable to suppose that our English Liturgy, and especially that part of it which consists of Hymns and Psalms, the *Te Deum*, *Magnificat*, *Jubilate*, &c., and we may add the *Creeds*, could not be made equally congregational, and thus greater fervour and animation be imparted to our public worship, if a well-concerted and uniform system were put in execution for this purpose.

It may be said that the Vesper Psalms recur here (in the French service) daily, but the same may be also said of the Magnificat, &c., with us; again, it may be alleged, that there are leading voices here which carried on the rest of the congregation with them; for the Psalms were not chanted alternately by priest and people, but by *all collectively*: this, perhaps, may render the attainment of the same effect more

easy. Upon the whole, the service was very solemn and impressive.

The Psalms were followed by a sermon from the Abbé Bonnechose, one of the Professors of the College of Juilly. His subject was the life of St. Augustine, this being appropriate for the day, and also suited to the assembly of the *Arché-confrérie*, whose design it is to labour for the conversion of all who are out of the pale of their Church. The example, therefore, of St. Ambrose, and of Monica, the mother of St. Augustine, whose joint efforts by teaching and prayer were blessed in the gaining of St. Augustine to the faith, was proposed by the preacher to the men, especially the Clergy, and to the women of the congregation, with much aptitude and force. The sermon was well delivered, with good voice and action, and the matter of it very respectable; but there was the same want of plan and unity of purpose, which has been before noticed as a defect in French sermons. The aim of the preacher generally seems to be to present to his audience a series of striking reflections or *pensées*, something like the *Tableaux* of the *Miracle des Roses*, brilliant indeed, but without coherence or unity of design.

The Abbé Bonnechose was succeeded in the pulpit by the Curé of the parish, M. Dufriches Desgenettes, a very dignified and venerable ecclesiastic with long white hair, who sat down and began to address his congregation in a familiar style, ever and anon taking

a pinch of snuff to gain a little time for thought, and to stimulate his ideas. His main purpose was to show the great good which had been done by the *Archi-confrérie*, of which he was the founder, and of which the members were now met together. He said that an assembly of the Society had scarcely ever taken place without being followed by some *conversion*, and he recounted the particulars of two or three of the most recent (that of a French officer, of a medical man, &c.) which had come under his own immediate knowledge, and to which he had been a party.

He then drew from his pocket a letter from a friend and *confrère* in the kingdom of Siam, which he read to the congregation. The drift of it was to desire their prayers for the King of Siam, who had recently shown to the French missionaries, of whom this correspondent was one, doubts as to the truth of his own religion, and a disposition to listen to the preaching of the Christian Faith. The King of Siam's name was accordingly enrolled at the Curé's desire in the catalogue of persons for whom the prayers of the *confrérie* were to be said.

He then proceeded to read a list of persons who had applied for their intercessions in behalf of themselves or their relatives ; the *names* were not specified, but only the *number* of persons to be prayed for, so many sick, so many Protestants, so many Jews, &c. ; specially, he added, that their prayers were

desired for the King of Siam, for the Emperor of Morocco, for England, and for Russia. He said he mentioned the Emperor of Morocco particularly now, on account of the success with which Providence had lately blessed the French arms in that country, for which they ought all to be very grateful, and to pray that the extension of their conquests might also lead to the advancement of Christianity.

This address from the Curé, who remained seated for the greater part of its delivery, was followed by chanting and prayers for the objects specified. There are particular forms of prayer and praise licensed for the use of this *Archi-confrérie*, which are used on these occasions. On the whole, with much that was very excellent and devotional in this service, there was evidently a tendency in it to supersede the regular church ritual by novel modes of worship, and a design to attract the attention by irregular allurements, and to excite the feelings by new stimulants—a practice reminding one very forcibly, in its uncatholic and almost schismatical character, of the artifices sometimes resorted to by English sectarians to gain an advantage over the Church among unsteady and ill-balanced minds. A French friend, to whom I made this remark, justified the proceedings on the ground that the Society and its Ritual had been licensed by the Archbishop. It seems, however, a proof of instability and weakness in the Church, that its chief pastors should think it expedient, or

worth while, to attempt to catch a little fitting popular breeze, by shifting their sails in these *oblique* directions. This *Archi-confrérie*, it may be observed, has gained some credit by connecting itself with the conversion of the famous Jew *Ratisbonne*, before-mentioned, which took place some months ago at Rome: the Curé has published an account of the whole proceeding for the benefit of the society.

*Monday 2, and Tuesday 3, Sept.*—We are now taking leave of our friends and of France, having taken our places in the Boulogne diligence for Wednesday. Received from Sir R. Chermiside—besides some books,—a very interesting and well-executed engraving of that wonderful public work, the Artesian Well, at the Grenelle Abattoir, at Paris, which has been recently completed, with the most triumphant success and beneficial results. What natural blessings has Providence bestowed on France!

Our last evening was agreeably occupied by a conversation with M. A. Bonnetty, whose learning, and candour, and kindness, make his society very interesting. He says that the moral philosophy commonly taught in the seminaries of France is founded on the principles of Des Cartes, and that he hopes to be able, in a periodical, of which he is the conductor, to show the expediency of substituting something better than the Cartesian system, as the basis of ethical teaching. He also expressed the same favourable expectations with respect to the progress of religion in France,

which we had heard from our Benedictine friend : he thought that a vast improvement had taken place in the practice of a large body of persons in different classes of society (he mentioned particularly the army and navy), with respect to the performance of the duties of religion. Still he said that the material and physical force of the country was not on the side of religion. I asked him whether private and domestic prayer was common in French households? He replied, that religious people sent their servants and children to the *Prières du Matin et du Soir* at church, and some read the *Evangile* with them at home. He allowed that the spirit of the Church in France had become almost wholly *Ultramontane*. "*Nous sommes*," said a French friend to me this evening, "*tous Ultramontains ; seulement l'Archevêque est un peu Gallican*."<sup>3</sup>

M. Bonnetty has been mentioned in this journal (p. 161) as having given me some documents concerning the sceptical character of the present system of academical education in France ; and I am here reminded of two observations on this subject which seem to me of importance.

<sup>3</sup> Mgr. Olivier of Evreux bears that character ; and in Germany, the Archbishop of Freyburg, Bishop of Maintz, Wessenberg of Constance, and Bishop of Erlau. The Archbishop of Paris has recently published a volume entitled *De l'Appel comme d'Abus* (On Appeals to the Civil Power, against ecclesiastical acts alleged to be irregular and excessive) to which is attached an interesting Essay, "*De l'Usage et de l'Abus des Opinions controversées entre les Ultramontains et les Gallicans*," Paris, 1845.

It will be remembered that a large proportion of the students of the Parisian colleges are *externes* (see above, p. 71), i. e. that they do not reside within the walls of the colleges, but live either with their parents and guardians, or in boarding-houses with private tutors.

It might, therefore, perhaps have been supposed, *à priori*, that, although religion was made no part of the system of education in the colleges, yet these *externes* pupils would not suffer from the defect of religious teaching there, because it would be supplied by domestic or private training at home or in their boarding-houses.

That this anticipation, if it was ever entertained, has proved wholly fallacious, is evident from the Report of the Chaplains of the Colleges before cited (p. 77, 78), and from the unanimous voice of the French episcopate at the present day, and indeed from the general consent of almost all classes of society.

The next remark which I would offer is, that although the subjects of the lectures of the professors of these colleges are of such a nature as would *apparently* not invite any specific reference, either favourable or adverse, to religion, yet it is notorious that Infidelity is propagated, not only indirectly by the absence of religion from the collegiate system, but by *positive sceptical teaching* introduced into lectures on purely *scientific* and *literary* subjects. I



abstain from mentioning *names*, which are sufficiently well known ; but it is a lamentable fact, that Lecturers on history in these colleges have inculcated rationalism, and have assailed the truth of future rewards and punishments ; that their Philosophers have impugned the miracles of Scripture, and have denied the inspiration of the prophecies ; that their Metaphysicians have questioned the efficacy of prayer, and have advocated the lawfulness of suicide, and of a community of wives ; that their Mathematicians have laughed to scorn the authenticity and inspiration of the Mosaic records ; and that their Astronomers have been the propagandists of Atheism.

These, I say, are unquestionable facts ; and if any one is desirous of seeing circumstantial evidence of them, let him consult a small volume recently published at Paris, with the title, *Catéchisme de l'Université, par un Montagnard Vivarois*, which has had a very extensive circulation <sup>4</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> It is now in the fourth edition. Another work containing a large mass of evidence on the same subject may be here mentioned, *Le Monopole Universitaire destructeur de la Religion et de la Loi*, par M. L'Abbé Garets, Lyon, 1842. pp. 674.

## NOTES.

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(Note to p. 25.)

### EGLISE GALLICANE.

*DÉCLARATION du Clergé du France, du 19 mars 1682, sur la puissance ecclésiastique, proclamée loi de l'empire par décret du 25 février 1810*<sup>1</sup>.

1. Que saint Pierre et ses successeurs, vicaires de Jésus-Christ, et que toute l'Eglise même n'ont reçu de puissance de Dieu que sur les choses spirituelles et qui concernent le salut, et non point sur les choses temporelles et civiles ; Jésus-Christ nous apprenant lui-même que *son royaume n'est pas de ce monde*, et en un autre endroit, *qu'il faut rendre à César ce qui est à César, et à Dieu ce qui est à Dieu* ; et qu'ainsi ce précepte de l'apôtre saint Paul ne peut en rien être altéré ou ébranlé : *Que toute personne soit soumise aux puissances supérieures ; car il n'y a point de puissance qui ne vienne de Dieu, et c'est lui qui ordonne celles qui sont sur la terre ; celui donc qui s'oppose aux puissances résiste à l'ordre de Dieu.*

Que les rois et les souverains ne seront soumis à aucune puissance ecclésiastique, par l'ordre de Dieu, dans les choses temporelles ; qu'ils ne peuvent être déposés ni directement, ni indi-

<sup>1</sup> La déclaration du clergé de France dont nous donnons ici la traduction française se trouve en Latin dans l'Edit de Louis XIV., du 23 mars 1682. Cet édit, qui prescrit l'enregistrement de cette déclaration et la proclame loi générale du royaume, détermine, en outre, les mesures nécessaires pour l'enseignement de la doctrine qu'elle contient dans tous les séminaires, maisons et collèges religieux. (Note by M. Dupin.)

rectement par l'autorité des clefs de l'Eglise ; que leurs sujets ne peuvent être dispensés de la soumission et de l'obéissance qu'ils leur doivent, ni absous du serment de fidélité, et que cette doctrine, nécessaire pour la tranquillité publique, et non moins avantageuse à l'Eglise qu'à l'Etat, doit être inviolablement suivie, comme conforme à la parole de Dieu, à la tradition des saints pères et aux exemples des Saints.

2. Que la plénitude de puissance que le Saint-Siège apostolique et les successeurs de saint Pierre, vicaires de Jésus-Christ, ont sur les choses spirituelles, est telle que, néanmoins, les décrets du saint concile œcuménique de Constance, contenus dans les sessions 4 et 5, approuvés par le Saint-Siège apostolique, confirmés par la pratique de toute l'Eglise et des pontifes romains, et observés religieusement, dans tous les temps, par l'Eglise gallicane, demeurent dans leur force et vertu, et que l'Eglise de France n'approuve pas l'opinion de ceux qui donnent atteinte à ces décrets, ou qui les affaiblissent, en disant que leur autorité n'est pas bien établie, qu'ils ne sont point approuvés ou qu'ils ne regardent que le temps de schisme.

3. Qu'ainsi l'usage de la puissance apostolique doit être réglé suivant les canons faits par l'esprit de Dieu, et consacrés par le respect général ; que les règles, les mœurs et les constitutions reçues dans le royaume et dans l'Eglise gallicane, doivent avoir leur force et vertu, et les usages de nos pères demeurer inébranlables ; qu'il est même de la grandeur du Saint-Siège apostolique, que les lois et coutumes établies du consentement de ce Siège respectable et des Eglises subsistent invariablement.

4. Que, bien que le pape ait la principale part dans les questions de foi, et que ses décrets regardent toutes les églises, et chaque église en particulier, son jugement n'est pourtant pas irréformable, à moins que le consentement de l'Eglise n'intervienne<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>2</sup> Le 12 avril 1826, un certain nombre d'archevêques et évêques firent une déclaration, rendue publique, dans laquelle ils protestèrent contre la doctrine contenue dans l'Edit de 1682. Mais cette déclaration, qui n'a pas reçu la sanction du gouvernement, ne peut prévaloir contre la proclamation des libertés de l'Eglise gallicane. (*Note by M. Dupin.*)

**LOI du 18 germinal an X** (8 avril 1802), *relative à l'organisation des cultes* (dite concordat).

La convention passée à Paris, le 26 messidor an IX, entre le pape et le gouvernement français, et dont les ratifications ont été échangées à Paris le 23 fructidor an IX (10 septembre 1801), ensemble les articles organiques de ladite convention, les articles organiques des cultes protestants, dont la teneur suit, seront promulgués et exécutés comme des lois de la république.

**CONVENTION entre le gouvernement français et sa sainteté**  
*Pie VII.*

Le gouvernement de la république française reconnaît que la religion catholique, apostolique et romaine est la religion de la grande majorité des citoyens français<sup>3</sup>.

Sa Sainteté reconnaît également que cette même religion a retiré et attend encore en ce moment le plus grand bien et le plus grand éclat de l'établissement du culte catholique en France, et de la profession particulière qu'en font les consuls de la république.

En conséquence, d'après cette reconnaissance mutuelle, tant pour le bien de la religion que pour le maintien de la tranquillité intérieure, ils sont convenus de ce qui suit :

1. La religion catholique, apostolique et romaine, sera librement exercée en France : son culte sera public, en se conformant aux règlements de police que le gouvernement jugera nécessaires pour la tranquillité publique.

2. Il sera fait par le Saint-Siège, de concert avec le gouvernement, une nouvelle circonscription des diocèses français.

3. Sa Sainteté déclarera aux titulaires des évêchés français, qu'elle attend d'eux avec une ferme confiance, pour le bien de la paix et de l'unité, toute espèce de sacrifices, même celui de leurs sièges.—D'après cette exhortation, s'ils se refusaient à ce sacrifice commandé par le bien de l'Eglise (refus néanmoins auquel sa Sainteté ne s'attend pas), il sera pourvu, par de nouveaux titu-

<sup>3</sup> La Charte de 1814 avait déclaré la religion catholique la religion de l'Etat ; celle de 1830 se borne à déclarer (art. 6) que " la religion catholique est professée par la majorité des Français." (Note by M. Dupin.)

lares, au gouvernement des évêchés de la circonscription nouvelle, de la manière suivante.

4. Le premier consul de la république nommera, dans les trois mois qui suivront la publication de la bulle de sa Sainteté, aux archevêchés et évêchés de la circonscription nouvelle. Sa Sainteté confèrera l'institution canonique, suivant les formes établies par rapport à la France avant le changement de gouvernement.

5. Les nominations aux évêchés qui vaqueront dans la suite seront également faites par le premier consul, et l'institution canonique sera donnée par le Saint-Siège, en conformité de l'article précédent.

6. Les évêques, avant d'entrer en fonctions, prêteront directement, entre les mains du premier consul, le serment de fidélité qui était en usage avant le changement de gouvernement, exprimé dans les termes suivants :—"Je jure et promets à Dieu, "sur les saints évangiles, de garder obéissance et fidélité au "gouvernement établi par la constitution de la république française. Je promets aussi de n'avoir aucune intelligence, de "n'assister à aucun conseil, de n'entretenir aucune ligue, soit au "dedans, soit au dehors, qui soit contraire à la tranquillité publique ; et si, dans mon diocèse ou ailleurs, j'apprends qu'il se "trame quelque chose au préjudice de l'Etat, je le ferai savoir "au gouvernement<sup>4</sup>."

7. Les ecclésiastiques du second ordre prêteront le même serment entre les mains des autorités civiles désignées par le gouvernement.

8. La formule de prière suivante sera récitée à la fin de l'office divin, dans toutes les églises catholiques de France :

*Domine, salvam fac rempublicam*  
*Domine, salvos fac consules<sup>5</sup>.*

9. Les évêques feront une nouvelle circonscription des paroisses de leurs diocèses, qui n'aura d'effet que d'après le consentement du gouvernement.

<sup>4 5</sup> Il est inutile de faire remarquer que cette formule varie avec les changements que les révolutions apportent dans les constitutions de l'Etat et avec la nature du titre conféré au chef du gouvernement. (Note by M. Dupin.)

10. Les évêques nommeront aux curés.— Leur choix ne pourra tomber que sur les personnes agréées par le gouvernement.

11. Les évêques pourront avoir un chapitre dans leur cathédrale, et un séminaire pour leur diocèse, sans que le gouvernement s'oblige à les doter.

12. Toutes les églises métropolitaines, cathédrales, paroissiales et autres non aliénées, nécessaires au culte, seront remises à la disposition des évêques.

13. Sa Sainteté pour le bien de la paix et l'heureux rétablissement de la religion catholique, déclare que ni elle ni ses successeurs ne troubleront en aucune manière les acquéreurs des biens ecclésiastiques aliénés, et qu'en conséquence, la propriété de ces mêmes biens, les droits et revenus y attachés, demeureront incommutables entre leurs mains ou celles de leurs ayants-cause.

14. Le gouvernement assurera un traitement convenable aux évêques et aux curés dont les diocèses et les paroisses seront compris dans la circonscription nouvelle.

15. Le gouvernement prendra également des mesures pour que les catholiques français puissent, s'ils le veulent, faire, en faveur des églises, des fondations.

16. Sa Sainteté reconnaît dans le premier consul de la république française les mêmes droits et prérogatives dont jouissait près d'elle l'ancien gouvernement.

17. Il est convenu entre les parties contractantes que, dans le cas où quelqu'un des successeurs du premier consul actuel ne serait pas catholique, les droits et prérogatives mentionnées dans l'article ci-dessus, et la nomination aux évêchés, seront réglés, par rapport à lui, par une nouvelle convention.— Les ratifications seront échangées à Paris dans l'espace de quarante jours.

Fait à Paris, le 26 messidor an IX.

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ARTICLES ORGANIQUES *de la convention du 26 messidor an IX.*

TITRE I.—*Du régime de l'église catholique dans ses rapports généraux avec les droits et la police de l'Etat.*

1. Aucune bulle, bref, rescrit, décret, mandat, provision, signature servant de provision, ni autres expéditions de la cour de

Rome, même ne concernant que les particuliers, ne pourront être reçus, publiés, imprimés, ni autrement mis à exécution, sans l'autorisation du gouvernement <sup>6</sup>.

2. Aucun individu se disant nonce, légat, vicaire ou commissaire apostolique, ou se prévalant de toute autre dénomination, ne pourra, sans la même autorisation exercer sur le sol français ni ailleurs, aucune fonction relative aux affaires de l'église gallicane.

3. Les décrets des synodes étrangers, même ceux des conciles généraux, ne pourront être publiés en France, avant que le gouvernement en ait examiné la forme, leur conformité avec les lois, droits et franchises de la république française, et tout ce qui, dans leur publication, pourrait altérer ou intéresser la tranquillité publique.

4. Aucun concile national ou métropolitain, aucun synode diocésain, aucune assemblée délibérante n'aura lieu sans la permission expresse du gouvernement.

5. Toutes les fonctions ecclésiastiques seront gratuites, sauf les oblations qui seraient autorisées et fixées par les règlements.

6. Il y aura recours au conseil d'état, dans tous les cas d'abus de la part des supérieurs et autres personnes ecclésiastiques <sup>7</sup>.— Les cas d'abus sont, l'usurpation ou l'excès de pouvoir, la contravention aux lois et règlements de la république, l'infraction aux règles consacrées par les canons reçus en France, l'attentat aux libertés, franchises et coutumes de l'église gallicane, et toute entreprise ou tout procédé qui, dans l'exercice du culte, peut compromettre l'honneur des citoyens, troubler arbitrairement leur conscience, dégénérer contre eux en oppression ou en injure, ou en scandale public <sup>8</sup>.

7. Il y aura pareillement recours au conseil d'état, s'il est porté

<sup>6</sup> Cet article a été modifié, en ce qui touche les *brefs de la pénitencerie*, par l'art. 1 du décret ci-après, du 28 février 1810. (*M. Dupin.*)

<sup>7</sup> V. ci-après le décret du 25 mars 1813, art. 5 et la *note*. (*Idem.*)

<sup>8</sup> V. Les art. 201 à 208 du Code pénal qui prévoient et punissent trois espèces de délits dont les ministres du culte peuvent se rendre coupables dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.—V. aussi plus bas, art. 53 et 54. (*Idem.*)

atteinte à l'exercice public du culte, et à la liberté que les lois et règlements garantissent à ses ministres.

8. Le recours compètera à toute personne intéressée. A défaut de plainte particulière, il sera exercée d'office par les préfets.—Le fonctionnaire public, l'ecclésiastique ou la personne qui voudra exercer ce recours, adressera un mémoire détaillé et signé au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, lequel sera tenu de prendre, dans le plus court délai, tous les renseignements convenables ; et, sur son rapport, l'affaire sera suivie et définitivement terminée dans la forme administrative, ou renvoyée, selon l'exigence des cas, aux autorités compétentes.

## TITRE II.—*Des ministres.*

### SECTION I.—*Dispositions générales.*

9. Le culte catholique sera exercé sous la direction des archevêques et évêques dans leurs diocèses, et sous celle des curés dans leurs paroisses.

10. Tout privilège portant exemption ou attribution de la juridiction épiscopale est aboli.

11. Les archevêques et évêques pourront, avec l'autorisation du gouvernement, établir dans leurs diocèses des chapitres cathédraux et des séminaires. Tous autres établissements ecclésiastiques sont supprimés.

12. Il sera libre aux archevêques et évêques, d'ajouter à leur nom le titre de *citoyen* ou celui de *Monsieur*. Toutes les autres qualifications sont interdites.

### SECTION II.—*Des archevêques ou métropolitains.*

13. Les archevêques consacreront et installeront leurs suffragants. En cas d'empêchement ou de refus de leur part, ils seront suppléés par le plus ancien évêque de l'arrondissement métropolitain.

14. Ils veilleront au maintien de la foi et de la discipline dans les diocèses dépendants de leur métropole.

15. Ils connaîtront des réclamations et des plaintes portées contre la conduite et les décisions des évêques suffragants.



**SECTION III.—Des évêques, des vicaires-généraux et des séminaires.**

16. On ne pourra être nommé évêque avant l'âge de trente ans, et si on n'est originaire Français.

17. Avant l'expédition de l'arrêté de nomination, celui ou ceux qui seront proposés seront tenus de rapporter une attestation de bonnes vie et mœurs, expédiée par l'évêque dans le diocèse duquel ils auront exercé les fonctions du ministère ecclésiastique ; et ils seront examinés sur leur doctrine par un évêque et deux prêtres, qui seront commis par le premier consul, lesquels adresseront le résultat de leur examen au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes.

18. Le prêtre nommé par le premier consul fera les diligences pour rapporter l'institution du pape.—Il ne pourra exercer aucune fonction, avant que la bulle portant son institution ait reçu l'attache du gouvernement, et qu'il ait prêté en personne le serment prescrit par la convention passée entre le gouvernement Français et le Saint-Siège<sup>9</sup>.

Ce serment sera prêté au premier consul, il en sera dressé procès-verbal par le secrétaire d'état.

19. Les évêques nommeront et institueront les curés. Néanmoins ils ne manifesteront leur nomination, et ils ne donneront l'institution canonique, qu'après que cette nomination aura été agréée par le premier consul.

20. Ils seront tenus de résider dans leurs diocèses ; ils ne pourront en sortir qu'avec la permission du premier consul.

21. Chaque évêque pourra nommer deux vicaires généraux, et chaque archevêque pourra en nommer trois : ils les choisiront parmi les prêtres ayant les qualités requises pour être évêques.

<sup>9</sup> Les bulles d'institution canonique sont toujours reçues et publiées sous les réserves suivantes : " Ladite bulle d'institution canonique sera reçue sans approbation de clauses, formules ou expressions qu'elle renferme, et qui sont ou qui pourraient être contraires à la Charte constitutionnelle, aux lois du royaume, aux franchises, libertés et maximes de l'église gallicane."—La bulle canonique est transcrite en Latin et en Français sur les registres du conseil d'Etat. (*Idem.*)

22. Ils visiteront annuellement et en personne une partie de leur diocèse et, dans l'espace de cinq ans, le diocèse entier.—En cas d'empêchement légitime, la visite sera faite par un vicaire général.

23. Les évêques seront chargés de l'organisation de leurs séminaires, et les règlements de cette organisation seront soumis à l'approbation du premier consul.

24. Ceux qui seront choisis pour l'enseignement dans les séminaires, souscriront la déclaration faite par le clergé de France en 1682, et publiée par un édit de la même année (V. ci-dessus) : ils se soumettront à y enseigner la doctrine qui y est contenue ; et les évêques adresseront une expédition en forme, de cette soumission, au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes.

25. Les évêques enverront, toutes les années, à ce conseiller d'état, le nom des personnes qui étudieront dans les séminaires et qui se destineront à l'état ecclésiastique.

26. *Abrogé par le décret du 28 février 1810, ci-après.*

#### SECTION IV.—*Des curés.*

27. Les curés ne pourront entrer en fonctions qu'après avoir prêté, entre les mains du préfet, le serment prescrit par la convention passée entre le gouvernement et le Saint-Siège. Il sera dressé procès-verbal de cette prestation, par le secrétaire général de la préfecture, et copie collationnée leur en sera délivrée.

28. Ils seront mis en possession par le curé ou le prêtre que l'évêque désignera.

29. Ils seront tenus de résider dans leurs paroisses.

30. Les curés seront immédiatement soumis aux évêques dans l'exercice de leurs fonctions.

31. Les vicaires et desservants exerceront leur ministère, sous la surveillance et la direction des curés.—Ils seront approuvés par l'évêque et révocables par lui.

32. Aucun étranger ne pourra être employé dans les fonctions du ministère ecclésiastique, sans la permission du gouvernement.

33. Toute fonction est interdite à tout ecclésiastique, même Français, qui n'appartient à aucun diocèse.

34. Un prêtre ne pourra quitter son diocèse pour aller desservir dans un autre, sans la permission de son évêque.

SECTION V.—*Des chapitres cathédraux, et du gouvernement des diocèses pendant la vacance du siège.*

35. Les archevêques et évêques, qui voudront user de la faculté qui leur est donnée d'établir des chapitres, ne pourront le faire sans l'autorisation du gouvernement, tant pour l'établissement lui-même, que pour le nombre et le choix des ecclésiastiques destinés à les former.

36. Pendant la vacance des sièges, il sera pourvu par le métropolitain, et, à son défaut, par le plus ancien des évêques suffragants, au gouvernement des diocèses.—Les vicaires généraux de ces diocèses continueront leurs fonctions, même après la mort de l'évêque, jusqu'à son remplacement<sup>1</sup>.

37. Les métropolitains, les chapitres cathédraux, seront tenus, sans délai, de donner avis au gouvernement de la vacance des sièges, et des mesures qui auront été prises pour le gouvernement des diocèses vacants.

38. Les vicaires généraux qui gouverneront pendant la vacance, ainsi que les métropolitains ou capitulaires, ne se permettront aucune innovation dans les usages et coutumes des diocèses.

TITRE III.—*Du culte.*

39. Il n'y aura qu'une liturgie et un catéchisme pour toutes les églises catholiques de France.

40. Aucun curé ne pourra ordonner des prières publiques extraordinaires dans sa paroisse, sans la permission spéciale de l'évêque.

41. Aucune fête, à l'exception du dimanche, ne pourra être établie sans la permission du gouvernement<sup>2</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ce dernier § a été rapporté par le décret du 28 fév. 1810.

<sup>2</sup> Les fêtes reconnues par le gouvernement sont, outre les dimanches, Noël, l'Ascension, l'Assomption et la Toussaint.—Le premier jour de l'an est mis également au nombre des jours fériés. V. C.

42. Les ecclésiastiques useront, dans les cérémonies religieuses, des habits et ornements convenables à leur titre : ils ne pourront, dans aucun cas, ni sous aucun prétexte, prendre la couleur et les marques distinctives réservées aux évêques.

pr. art 63 et les *notes*.—La loi du 18 novembre 1814 contient les dispositions suivantes sur la célébration des fêtes et dimanches :

“ 1. Les travaux ordinaires seront interrompus les dimanches et jours de fêtes reconnues par la loi de l’Etat.

“ 2. En conséquence, il est défendu lesdits jours,—1° aux marchands, d’étaler et de vendre, les ais et volets des boutiques ouverts ; —2° aux colporteurs et étalagistes, de colporter et d’exposer en vente leurs marchandises dans les rues et places publiques ;—3° aux artisans et ouvriers, de travailler extérieurement et d’ouvrir leurs ateliers ;—4° aux charretiers et voituriers employés à des services locaux, de faire des chargements dans les lieux publics de leur domicile.

“ 3. Dans les villes dont la population est au dessous de cinq mille âmes, ainsi que dans les bourgs et villages, il est défendu aux cabaretiers, marchands de vin, débitants de boissons, traiteurs, limonadiers, maîtres de paume et de billard, de tenir leurs maisons ouvertes et d’y donner à boire et à jouer lesdits jours, pendant le temps de l’office.

“ 4. Les contraventions aux dispositions ci-dessus seront constatées par procès-verbaux des maires et adjoints, ou des commissaires de police.

“ 5. Elles seront jugées par les tribunaux de police simple, et punies d’une amende qui, pour la première fois, ne pourra pas excéder cinq francs.

“ 6. En cas de récidive, les contrevenants pourront être condamnés au *maximum* des peines de police.

“ 7. Les défenses précédentes ne sont pas applicables,—1° Aux marchands de comestibles de toute nature, sauf cependant l’exécution de l’art. 3 ;—2° à tout ce qui tient au service de santé ;—3° aux postes, messageries et voitures publiques ;—4° aux voituriers de commerce par terre et par eau, et aux voyageurs ;—5° aux usines dont le service ne pourrait être interrompu sans dommage ;—6° aux ventes usitées dans les foires et fêtes dites *patronales*, et au débit des menues marchandises dans les communes rurales, hors le temps du service divin ;—7° aux chargements des navires marchands et autres bâtiments du commerce maritime. [“ 8.

43. Tous les ecclésiastiques seront habillés à la française et en noir.—Les évêques pourront joindre à ce costume la croix pastorale et les bas violets.

44. Les chapelles domestiques, les oratoires particuliers, ne pourront être établis sans une permission expresse du gouvernement, accordée sur la demande de l'évêque.

45. Aucune cérémonie religieuse n'aura lieu hors des édifices consacrés au culte catholique dans les villes où il y a des temples destinés à différents cultes.

46. Le même temple ne pourra être consacré qu'à un même culte.

47. Il y aura, dans les cathédrales et paroisses, une place distinguée pour les individus catholiques qui remplissent les autorités civiles et militaires.

48. L'évêque se concertera avec le préfet pour régler la manière d'appeler les fidèles au service divin par le son des cloches. On ne pourra les sonner pour toute autre cause sans la permission de la police locale.

49. Lorsque le gouvernement ordonnera des prières publiques, les évêques se concerteront avec le préfet et le commandant militaire du lieu, pour le jour, l'heure et le mode d'exécution de ces ordonnances.

50. Les prédications solennelles, appelées *sermons*, et celles connues sous le nom de *stations*, de l'avent et du carême, ne seront faites que par des prêtres qui en auront obtenu une autorisation spéciale de l'évêque.

51. Les curés, aux prônes des messes paroissiales, prieront et feront prier pour la prospérité de la république française et pour les consuls (V. les art. 6 et 8 ci-dessus et la note).

“ 8. Sont également exceptés des défenses ci-dessus, les meuniers et les ouvriers employés,—1° à la moisson et autres récoltes ;—2° aux travaux urgents de l'agriculture ;—3° aux constructions et réparations motivées par un péril imminent, à la charge, dans ces deux derniers cas, d'en demander la permission à l'autorité municipale.

“ 9. L'autorité administrative pourra étendre les exceptions ci-dessus aux usages locaux.

“ 10. Les lois et règlements de police antérieurs, relatifs à l'observation des dimanches et fêtes, sont et demeurent abrogés.”

52. Ils ne se permettront, dans leurs instructions, aucune inculpation directe ou indirecte, soit contre les personnes, soit contre les autres cultes autorisés dans l'Etat.

53. Ils ne feront au prône aucune publication étrangère à l'exercice du culte, si ce n'est celles qui seront ordonnées par le gouvernement.

54. Ils ne donneront la bénédiction nuptiale qu' à ceux qui justifieront, en bonne et du forme, avoir contracté mariage devant l'officier civil. C. p. 199, 200.

55. Les registres tenus par les ministres du culte, n'étant et ne pouvant être relatifs qu'à l'administration des sacrements, ne pourront, dans aucun cas, suppléer les registres ordonnés par la loi pour constater l'état civil des Français.

56. Dans tous les actes ecclésiastiques et religieux, on sera obligé de se servir du calendrier d'équinoxe établi par les lois de la république ; on désignera les jours par les noms qu'ils avaient dans le calendrier des solstices (calendrier grégorien).

57. Le repos des fonctionnaires publics sera fixé au dimanche.

**TITRE IV.—*De la circonscription des archevêchés, des évêchés et des paroisses ; des édifices destinés au culte et du traitement des ministres.***

**SECTION I.—*De la circonscription des archevêchés et des évêchés.***

58. Il y aura en France dix archevêchés ou métropoles, et cinquante évêchés.

59. La circonscription des métropoles et des diocèses sera faite conformément au tableau ci-joint<sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Une nouvelle circonscription des diocèses du royaume ayant été prescrite par une bulle donnée à Rome le 10 octobre 1822, le tableau mentionné dans cet article doit être considéré comme non venu. Une ordonnance du 31 du même mois porte à cet égard :

“ 1. La bulle donnée à Rome le 10 octobre 1822, concernant la circonscription des diocèses, est reçue et sera publiée dans le royaume.

“ 3. Ladite bulle est reçue sans approbation des clauses, réserves, formules ou expressions qu'elle renferme, et qui sont ou pourraient être contraires à la Charte constitutionnelle, aux lois du royaume, aux franchises, libertés ou maximes de l'église gallicane.— Elle sera

SECTION II.—*De la circonscription des paroisses.*

60. Il y aura au moins une paroisse dans chaque justice de paix.—Il sera en outre établi autant de succursales que le besoin pourra l'exiger.

61. Chaque évêque, de concert avec le préfet, réglera le nombre et l'étendue de ces succursales. Les plans arrêtés seront soumis au gouvernement, et ne pourront être mis à exécution sans son autorisation.

62. Aucune partie du territoire français ne pourra être érigée en cure ou en succursale sans l'autorisation expresse du gouvernement.

63. Les prêtres desservant les succursales sont nommés par les évêques.

SECTION III.—*Du traitement des ministres*<sup>4</sup>.

64. Le traitement des archevêques sera de 15,000fr.<sup>5</sup>

65. Le traitement des évêques sera de 10,000fr.

66. Les curés seront distribués en deux classes.—Le traitement des curés de la première classe sera porté à 1,500fr.; celui des curés de la seconde classe, à 1000fr.

67. Les pensions dont ils jouissent en exécution des lois de l'assemblée constituante, seront précomptées sur leur traitement<sup>6</sup>. —Les conseils généraux des grandes communes pourront, sur leurs biens ruraux ou sur leurs octrois, leur accorder une augmentation de traitement, si les circonstances l'exigent.

transcrite en latin et en français sur les registres de notre conseil d'état."

<sup>4</sup> ARRÊTÉ du 18 nivôse an XI (8 janvier 1803).

Les traitements ecclésiastiques seront insaisissables en totalité.

<sup>5</sup> Celui de l'archevêque de Paris a été fixé à 40,000fr. par l'ordonnance du 25 mai—11 juin 1832, et celui des autres archevêques et évêques maintenu au même taux que ci-dessus.

<sup>6</sup> DÉCRET du 11 prairial an XII (30 mai 1804), contenant règlement sur une nouvelle circonscription des succursales.

"5. Le montant des pensions dont jouissent les desservants sera précompté sur celui de leur traitement.

"6. Les traitements des desservants seront payés par trimestre. —Les évêques donneront avis de la nomination des desservants au

68. Les vicaires et desservants seront choisis parmi les ecclésiastiques pensionnés en exécution des lois de l'assemblée constituante.—Le montant de ces pensions et le produit des oblations formeront leur traitement 7.

conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes et aux préfets.—A compter du 1<sup>er</sup> vendémiaire an XIII., les curés et les desservants seront munis d'un brevet de traitement, signé par l'archi-trésorier de l'empire : ils seront payés de leur traitement sur la présentation de ce brevet.

"7. Le premier jour de chaque trimestre, le conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes remettra l'état des desservants qui existaient le premier jour du trimestre précédent. Cet état présentera le montant de leur traitement et celui des pensions dont ils jouissent.

"8. Le payeur de chaque département soldera les traitements des desservants, sur l'état ordonnancé par le préfet et dressé par l'évêque."

*DÉCRET du 5 nivôse an XIII (5 décembre 1805), relatif au mode de paiement du traitement accordé aux desservants et vicaires des succursales.*

"1. En exécution du décret du 11 prairial dernier, tous les desservants des succursales dont l'état numérique, divisé par départements et par diocèses, est annexé au présent, toucheront, à compter du 1<sup>er</sup> vendémiaire an XIII., le traitement fixé par l'article 4, et suivant les formes prescrites par les art. 5, 6, 7 et 8 du décret précité.

"2. Le paiement des desservants et vicaires des autres succursales demeure à la charge des communes de leurs arrondissements. V. ci-après D. 30 déc. 1809, art. 40.

"3. Sur la demande des évêques, les préfets régleront la quotité de ce paiement, et détermineront les moyens de l'assurer, soit par les revenus communaux et les octrois, soit par la voie de souscription, abonnements et prestations volontaires, ou de toute autre manière convenable.—Ils régleront de même les traitements des vicaires des succursales comprises au première article du présent, et les augmentations que les communes de ces succursales seront dans le cas de faire au traitement de leurs desservants ; et ils adresseront leurs arrêtés au ministre de l'intérieur et des cultes."

7 Une ordonnance du 6 novembre 1814, porte :

1. Un supplément de traitement de deux cents francs par an sera payé à chaque desservant que son évêque aura chargé provisoirement



69. Les évêques rédigeront les projets de règlement relatifs aux oblations que les ministres du culte sont autorisés à recevoir pour l'administration des sacrements. Les projets de règlement rédigés par les évêques ne pourront être publiés, ni autrement mis à exécution, qu'après avoir été approuvés par le gouvernement.

70. Tout ecclésiastique pensionnaire de l'Etat sera privé de sa pension, s'il refuse, sans cause légitime, les fonctions qui pourront lui être confiées.

71. Les conseils généraux de département sont autorisés à procurer aux archevêques et évêques un logement convenable.

72. Les presbytères et les jardins attenants, non aliénés, seront rendus aux curés et aux desservants des succursales. A défaut de ces presbytères, les conseils généraux des communes sont autorisés à leur procurer un logement et un jardin.

73. Les fondations qui ont pour objet l'entretien des ministres et l'exercice du culte ne pourront consister qu'en rentes constituées sur l'Etat : elles seront acceptées par l'évêque diocésain, et ne pourront être exécutées qu'avec l'autorisation du gouvernement.

74. Les immeubles, autres que les édifices destinés au logement et les jardins attenants, ne pourront être affectés à des titres ecclésiastiques, ni possédés par les ministres du culte à raison de leurs fonctions <sup>8</sup>.

#### SECTION IV.—*Des édifices destinés au culte.*

75. Les édifices anciennement destinés au culte catholique, actuellement dans les mains de la nation, à raison d'un édifice par cure et par succursale, seront mis à la disposition des évêques par arrêtés du préfet du département. Une expédition de ces arrêtés sera adressée au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes.

76. Il sera établi des fabriques pour veiller à l'entretien et à la conservation des temples, à l'administration des aumônes <sup>9</sup>.

du service de deux succursales, à défaut de desservant en exercice dans l'une d'elles, et ce autant que durera le double service.

<sup>8</sup> V. C. civ. art. 910. 937 et les lois et ord. en note.

<sup>9</sup> V. Décr. 30 déc. 1809.

78. Dans les paroisses ou il n'y aura point d'édifice disponible pour le culte, l'évêque se concertera avec le préfet pour la désignation d'un édifice convenable.

#### ARTICLES ORGANIQUES DU CULTE PROTESTANT.

##### TITRE I.—*Dispositions générales pour toutes les communions protestantes.*

1. Nul ne pourra exercer les fonctions du culte, s'il n'est Français.

2. Les églises protestantes, ni leur ministre, ne pourront avoir des relations avec aucune puissance ni autorité étrangère. C. p. 207, s.

3. Les pasteurs et ministres des diverses communions protestantes prieront et feront prier, dans la récitation de leurs offices, pour la prospérité de la république française et pour les consuls. (V. ci-dessus, art. 6 et 8 et la *note*, page 577.)

4. Aucune décision doctrinale ou dogmatique, aucun formulaire, sous le titre de *confession*, ou sous tout autre titre, ne pourront être publiés ou devenir la matière de l'enseignement, avant que le gouvernement en ait autorisé la publication ou promulgation.

5. Aucun changement dans la discipline n'aura lieu sans la même autorisation.

6. Le conseil d'Etat connaîtra de toutes les entreprises des ministres du culte, et de toutes dissensions qui pourront s'élever entre ces ministres.

7. Il sera pourvu au traitement des pasteurs des églises consistoriales ; bien entendu qu'on imputera sur ce traitement les biens que ces églises possèdent, et le produit des oblations établies par l'usage ou par des règlements <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> ARRÊTÉ du 15 germinal an XII (4 avril 1805), sur le traitement des ministres protestants.

"1. Le traitement des pasteurs des églises protestantes est réglé d'après la population des communes dans lesquelles ils exerceront leur ministère.

"2. Les pasteurs des protestants des églises des communes dont la population est au dessus de trente mille âmes sont pasteurs de première classe ; ceux des communes dont la population s'élève depuis

8. Les dispositions portées par les articles organiques du culte catholique sur la liberté des fondations, et sur la nature des biens qui peuvent en être l'objet, seront communes aux églises protestantes<sup>2</sup>.

9. Il y aura deux académies ou séminaires dans l'est de la France, pour l'instruction des ministres de la confession d'Augsbourg.

10. Il y aura un séminaire à Genève, pour l'instruction des ministres des églises réformées.

11. Les professeurs de toutes les académies ou séminaires seront nommés par le premier consul.

12. Nul ne pourra être élu ministre ou pasteur d'une église de la confession d'Augsbourg, s'il n'a étudié, pendant un temps déterminé, dans un des séminaires français destinés à l'instruction des ministres de cette confession, et s'il ne rapporte un certificat en bonne forme, constatant son temps d'étude, sa capacité et ses bonnes mœurs.

13. On ne pourra être élu ministre ou pasteur d'une église cinq mille âmes inclusivement jusqu'à trente mille âmes sont pasteurs de seconde classe ; et ceux des communes dont la population est exclusivement au dessous de cinq mille âmes sont pasteurs de troisième classe.

" 3. Le traitement des pasteurs de la première classe est de 2000 fr. ; celui des pasteurs de la seconde classe est de 1500 fr. ; celui des pasteurs de la dernière classe est de 1000 fr.

" 4. Le traitement des pasteurs court du jour où le premier consul a confirmé leur nomination.

" 5. Le traitement des pasteurs sera payé par trimestre.

" 6. Le traitement des pasteurs est insaisissable (V. ci-dessus arrêté du 18 niv. an XI., en note, page 562.)

<sup>2</sup> DÉCRET du 5 mai 1806 relatif au logement des ministres du culte protestant et à l'entretien des temples.

" 1. Les communes où le culte protestant est exercé concurremment avec le culte catholique sont autorisées à procurer aux ministres du culte protestant un logement et un jardin.

" 2. Le supplément de traitement qu'il y aurait lieu d'accorder à ces ministres, les frais de construction, réparations, entretien des temples, et ceux du culte protestant seront également à la charge de ces communes, lorsque la nécessité de venir au secours des églises sera constatée.

réformée, sans avoir étudié dans le séminaire de Genève, et si on ne rapporte un certificat dans la forme énoncée dans l'article précédent.

14. Les règlements sur l'administration et la police intérieure des séminaires, sur le nombre et la qualité des professeurs, sur la manière d'enseigner, et sur les objets d'enseignement, ainsi que sur la forme des certificats ou attestations d'étude, de bonne conduite et de capacité, seront approuvés par le gouvernement.

## TITRE II.—*Des églises réformées.*

### SECTION I.—*De l'organisation générale de ces églises.*

15. Les églises réformées de France auront des pasteurs, des consistoires locaux et des synodes.

16. Il y aura une église consistoriale par six mille ames de la même communion.

17. Cinq églises consistoriales formeront l'arrondissement d'un synode.

### SECTION II.—*Des pasteurs, et des consistoires locaux.*

18. Le consistoire de chaque église sera composé du pasteur ou des pasteurs desservant cette église, et d'anciens ou notables laïques, choisis parmi les citoyens les plus imposés au rôle des contributions directes : le nombre de ces notables ne pourra être au dessous de six, ni au dessus de douze.

19. Le nombre des ministres ou pasteurs, dans une même église consistoriale, ne pourra être augmenté sans l'autorisation du gouvernement.

20. Les consistoires veilleront au maintien de la discipline, à l'administration des biens de l'église, et à celle des deniers provenant des aumônes.

21. Les assemblées des consistoires seront présidées par le pasteur, ou par le plus ancien des pasteurs. Un des anciens ou notables remplira les fonctions de secrétaire.

22. Les assemblées ordinaires des consistoires continueront de se tenir aux jours marqués par l'usage.—Les assemblées extraordinaires ne pourront avoir lieu sans la permission du sous-préfet, ou du maire en l'absence du sous-préfet.

23. Tous les deux ans, les anciens du consistoire seront re-

nouvelés par moitié. A cette époque, les anciens en exercice s'adjoindront un nombre égal de citoyens protestants, chefs de famille, et choisis parmi les plus imposés au rôle des contributions directes de la commune où l'église consistoriale sera située, pour procéder au renouvellement.— Les anciens sortants pourront être réélus.

24. Dans les églises où il n'y a point de consistoire actuel, il en sera formé un. Tous les membres seront élus par la réunion des vingt-cinq chefs de famille protestants les plus imposés au rôle des contributions directes : cette réunion n'aura lieu qu'avec l'autorisation et en la présence du préfet ou du sous-préfet.

25. Les pasteurs ne pourront être destitués qu'à la charge de présenter les motifs de la destitution au gouvernement, qui les approuvera ou les rejettera.

26. En cas de décès, ou de démission volontaire, ou de destitution confirmée d'un pasteur, le consistoire, formé de la manière prescrite par l'art. 18, choisira à la pluralité des voix pour le remplacer.— Le titre d'élection sera présenté au premier consul par le conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, pour avoir son approbation.— L'approbation donnée, il ne pourra exercer qu'après avoir prêté entre les mains du préfet le serment exigé des ministres du culte catholique.

27. Tous les pasteurs actuellement en exercice sont provisoirement confirmés.

28. Aucune église ne pourra s'étendre d'un département dans un autre.

### SECTION III.—*Des synodes.*

29. Chaque synode sera formé du pasteur, ou des pasteurs, et d'un ancien ou notable de chaque église.

30. Les synodes veilleront sur tout ce qui concerne la célébration du culte, l'enseignement de la doctrine et la conduite des affaires ecclésiastiques. Toutes les décisions qui émaneront d'eux, de quelque nature qu'elles soient, seront soumises à l'approbation du gouvernement.

31. Les synodes ne pourront s'assembler que lorsqu'on en aura rapporté la permission du gouvernement.— On donnera connaissance préalable au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, des matières qui devront y être

traitées. L'assemblée sera tenue en présence du préfet ou du sous-préfet : et une expédition du procès-verbal des délibérations sera adressée par le préfet au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, qui, dans le plus court délai, en fera son rapport au gouvernement.

32. L'assemblée d'un synode ne pourra durer que six jours.

### TITRE III.—*De l'organisation des églises de la confession d'Augsbourg.*

#### SECTION I.—*Dispositions générales.*

33. Les églises de la confession d'Augsbourg auront des pasteurs, des consistoires locaux, des inspections et des consistoires généraux.

#### SECTION II.—*Des ministres ou pasteurs, et des consistoires locaux de chaque église.*

34. On suivra, relativement aux pasteurs, à la circonscription et au régime des églises consistoriales, ce qui a été prescrit par la section II du titre précédent, pour les pasteurs et pour les églises réformées.

#### SECTION III.—*Des inspections.*

35. Les églises de la confession d'Augsbourg seront subordonnées à des inspections.

36. Cinq églises consistoriales formeront l'arrondissement d'une inspection.

37. Chaque inspection sera composée du ministre ou d'un ancien ou notable de chaque église de l'arrondissement : elle ne pourra s'assembler que lorsqu'on en aura rapporté la permission du gouvernement la première fois qu'il écherra de la convoquer ; elle le sera par le plus ancien des ministres desservant les églises de l'arrondissement. Chaque inspection choisira dans son sein deux laïques, et un ecclésiastique, qui prendra le titre d'inspecteur, et qui sera chargé de veiller sur les ministres et sur le maintien du bon ordre dans les églises particulières.—Le choix de l'inspecteur et des deux laïques sera confirmé par le premier consul.

38. L'inspection ne pourra s'assembler qu'avec l'autorisation du gouvernement, en présence du préfet ou du sous-préfet, et après avoir donné connaissance préalable au conseiller d'état

chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, des matières que l'on se proposera d'y traiter.

39. L'inspecteur pourra visiter les églises de son arrondissement ; il s'adjoindra les deux laïques nommés avec lui, toutes les fois que les circonstances l'exigeront ; il sera chargé de la convocation de l'assemblée générale de l'inspection. Aucune décision émanée de l'assemblée générale de l'inspection ne pourra être exécutée sans avoir été soumise à l'approbation du gouvernement.

#### SECTION IV.—*Des consistoires généraux.*

40. Il y aura trois consistoires généraux : l'un à Strasbourg, pour les protestants de la confession d'Augsbourg, des départements du Haut et Bas-Rhin ; l'autre à Mayence, pour ceux des départements de la Sarre et du Mont-Tonnerre ; et le troisième à Cologne, pour ceux des départements de Rhin-et-Moselle et de la Roer<sup>3</sup>.

41. Chaque consistoire sera composé d'un président laïque protestant, de deux ecclésiastiques inspecteurs, et d'un député de chaque inspection.—Le président et les deux ecclésiastiques inspecteurs seront nommés par le premier consul.—Le président sera tenu de prêter entre les mains du premier consul ou du fonctionnaire public qu'il plaira au premier consul de déléguer à cet effet, le serment exigé des ministres du culte catholique.—Les deux ecclésiastiques inspecteurs et les membres laïques prêteront le même serment entre les mains du président.

42. Le consistoire général ne pourra s'assembler que lorsqu'on en aura rapporté la permission du gouvernement, et qu'en présence du préfet ou du sous-préfet : on donnera préalablement connaissance au conseiller d'état chargé de toutes les affaires concernant les cultes, des matières qui devront y être traitées. L'assemblée ne pourra durer plus de six jours.

43. Dans le temps intermédiaire d'une assemblée à l'autre, il y aura un directoire composé du président, du plus âgé des deux ecclésiastiques inspecteurs et de trois laïques, dont un sera nommé par le premier consul : les deux autres seront choisis par le consistoire général.

<sup>3</sup> Ces quatre derniers départements ne font plus partie du territoire français.

44. Les attributions du consistoire général et du directoire continueront d'être régies par les règlements et coutumes des églises de la confession d'Augsbourg, dans toutes les choses auxquelles il n'a point été formellement dérogé par les lois de la république et par les présents articles.

## CHARTRE DE 1830.

### *Droit public des Français.*

1. Les Français sont égaux devant la loi, quels que soient d'ailleurs leurs titres et leurs rangs.

2. Ils contribuent indistinctement, dans la proportion de leur fortune, aux charges de l'Etat.

3. Ils sont tous également admissibles aux emplois civils et militaires <sup>4</sup>.

4. Leur liberté individuelle est également garantie, personne ne pouvant être poursuivi ni arrêté que dans les cas prévus par la loi et dans la forme qu'elle prescrit <sup>5</sup>.

5. Chacun professe sa religion avec une égale liberté, et obtient pour son culte la même protection.

6. Les ministres de la religion catholique, apostolique et Romaine, professée par la majorité des Français, et ceux des autres cultes Chrétiens, reçoivent des traitements du Trésor public <sup>6</sup>.

7. Les Français ont le droit de publier et de faire imprimer leurs opinions en se conformant aux lois <sup>7</sup>.—La censure ne pourra jamais être rétablie.

<sup>4</sup> Les faillis qui ne se sont pas complètement libérés avec leurs créanciers, ne peuvent exercer aucune fonction publique (L. 21 vend. an III.-12 oct. 1794).—Certaines fonctions sont incompatibles avec d'autres. Ainsi, nul citoyen ne peut exercer en même temps, dans la même ville ou communauté, les fonctions municipales et les fonctions militaires. D. 30 Déc. 1789, art. 1.—Le décret du 24 vend. an III. (15 oct. 1794), prononce encore l'incompatibilité des fonctions administratives et judiciaires.

<sup>5</sup> Const. du 22 frim. an VIII, art. 76, s.

<sup>6</sup> Une loi du 8 février 1831 accorde des traitements aux ministres du culte israélite. C. des cult.

<sup>7</sup> L. du sept. 1835. C. presse.



8. Toutes les propriétés sont inviolables, sans aucune exception de celles qu'on appelle nationales, la loi ne mettant aucune différence entre elles.

9. L'état peut exiger le sacrifice d'une propriété pour cause d'intérêt public légalement constaté, mais avec une indemnité préalable<sup>8</sup>.

10. Toutes recherches des opinions et des votes émis jusqu'à la restauration sont interdites : le même oubli est commandé aux tribunaux et aux citoyens.

11. La conscription est abolie. Le mode de recrutement de l'armée de terre et de mer est déterminé par une loi<sup>9</sup>.

*Forme du gouvernement du Roi.*

12. La personne du Roi est inviolable et sacrée. Ses ministres sont responsables. Au Roi seul appartient la puissance exécutive<sup>1</sup>.

13. Le Roi est le chef de l'Etat ; il commande les forces de terre et de mer, déclare la guerre, fait les traités de paix, d'alliance et de commerce, nomme à tous les emplois d'administration publique, et fait les règlements et ordonnances nécessaires pour l'exécution des lois, sans pouvoir jamais ni suspendre les lois elles-mêmes ni dispenser de leur exécution.—Toutefois, aucune troupe étrangère ne pourra être admise au service de l'Etat qu'en vertu d'une loi.

14. La puissance législative s'exerce collectivement par le Roi, la chambre des pairs et la chambre des députés.

15. La proposition des lois appartient au Roi, à la chambre des pairs et à la chambre des députés.—Néanmoins toute loi d'impôt doit être d'abord votée par la chambre des députés.

16. Toute loi doit être discutée et votée librement par la majorité de chacune des deux chambres.

17. Si une proposition de loi a été rejetée par l'un des trois pouvoirs, elle ne pourra être représentée dans la même session.

18. Le Roi seul sanctionne et promulgue les lois.

<sup>8</sup> C. exprop.

<sup>9</sup> L. sur le recrutement de l'armée. C. armée.

<sup>1</sup> V. Constit. 3 sept. 1791, tit. III, chap. II, sect. IV, art. 1, 4, 5 et 6.

19. La liste civile est fixée pour toute la durée du règne par la première législature assemblée depuis l'avènement du Roi<sup>2</sup>.

*De la chambre des pairs.*

20. La chambre des pairs est une portion essentielle de la puissance législative.

21. Elle est convoquée par le Roi en même temps que la chambre des députés. La session de l'une commence et finit en même temps que celle de l'autre.

22. Toute assemblée de la chambre des pairs, qui serait tenue hors du temps de la session de la chambre des députés, est illicite et nulle de plein droit, sauf le seul cas où elle est réunie comme cour de justice, et alors elle ne peut exercer que des fonctions judiciaires.

23. (L. 29 Décembre 1831.)

§ 1. La nomination des membres de la chambre des pairs appartient au Roi, qui ne pourra les choisir que parmi les notabilités suivantes :

§ 2. Le président de la chambre des députés et autres assemblées législatives ;

§ 3. Les députés qui auront fait partie de trois législatures, ou qui auront six ans d'exercice ;

§ 4. Les maréchaux et amiraux de France ;

§ 5. Les lieutenants-généraux et vice-amiraux des armées de terre et de mer, après deux ans de grade ;

§ 6. Les ministres à département ;

§ 7. Les ambassadeurs, après trois ans, et les ministres plénipotentiaires, après six ans de fonctions ;

§ 8. Les conseillers d'état, après dix ans de service ordinaire ;

§ 9. Les préfets de département et les préfets maritimes, après dix ans de fonctions ;

§ 10. Les gouverneurs coloniaux, après cinq ans de fonctions ;

§ 11. Les membres des conseils généraux électifs, après trois élections à la présidence ;

<sup>2</sup> La liste civile a été réglée conformément à cet article par la loi du 2 mars 1832. Elle est composée d'une dotation immobilière et d'une somme annuelle de douze millions.

§ 12. Les maires des villes de trente mille âmes et au dessus, après deux élections au moins comme membres du corps municipal, et après cinq ans de fonctions de maire ;

§ 13. Les présidents de la cour de cassation et de la cour des comptes ;

§ 14. Les procureurs généraux près ces deux cours, après cinq ans de fonctions en cette qualité ;

§ 15. Les conseillers de la cour de cassation et les conseillers-maitres de la cour des comptes, après cinq ans, les avocats généraux près la cour de cassation, après dix ans d'exercice ;

§ 16. Les premiers présidents des cours royales, après cinq ans de magistrature dans ces cours ;

§ 17. Les procureurs généraux près les mêmes cours, après dix ans de fonctions ;

§ 18. Les présidents des tribunaux de commerce dans les villes de trente mille âmes et au dessus, après quatre nominations à ces fonctions ;

§ 19. Les membres titulaires des quatre académies de l'Institut ;

§ 20. Les citoyens à qui, par une loi et à raison d'éminents services, aura été nominativement décernée une récompense nationale ;

§ 21. Les propriétaires, les chefs de manufacture et de maison de commerce et de banque payant trois mille francs de contributions directes, soit à raison de leurs propriétés foncières, depuis trois ans, soit à raison de leurs patentes depuis cinq ans, lorsqu'ils auront été pendant six ans membres d'un conseil général ou d'une chambre de commerce ;

§ 22. Les propriétaires, les manufacturiers, commerçants ou banquiers, payant trois mille francs d'impositions, qui auront été nommés députés ou juges des tribunaux de commerce, pourront être aussi admis à la pairie sans autre condition ;

§ 23. Le titulaire qui aura successivement exercé plusieurs des fonctions ci-dessus, pourra cumuler ses services dans toutes, pour compléter le temps exigé dans celle où le service devrait être le plus long.

§ 24. Seront dispensés du temps d'exercice exigé par les

paragraphes 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, et 17, les citoyens qui ont été nommés, dans l'année qui a suivi le 30 juillet 1830, aux fonctions énoncées dans ces paragraphes.

§ 25. Seront également dispensées, jusqu'au 1<sup>er</sup> janvier 1837, du temps d'exercice exigé par les § 3, 11, 12, 18 et 21 ci-dessus, les personnes nommées ou maintenues, depuis le 30 Juillet 1830, aux fonctions énoncées dans ces cinq paragraphes ;

§ 26. Ces conditions d'admissibilité à la pairie pourront être modifiées par une loi.

§ 27. Les ordonnances de nomination de pairs seront individuelles.

§ 28. Ces ordonnances mentionneront les services et indiqueront les titres sur lesquels la nomination sera fondée.

§ 29. Le nombre des pairs est illimité.

§ 30. Leur dignité est conférée à vie, et n'est pas transmissible par droit d'hérédité.

§ 31. Ils prennent rang entre eux par ordre de nomination.

§ 32. A l'avenir, aucun traitement, aucune pension, aucune dotation, ne pourront être attachés à la dignité de pair<sup>3</sup>.

24. Les pairs ont entrée dans la chambre à vingt-cinq ans, et voix délibérative à trente ans seulement.

25. La chambre des pairs est présidée par le chancelier, et, en son absence, par un pair nommé par le Roi.

26. Les princes du sang sont pairs par droit de naissance : ils siègent immédiatement après le président.

27. Les séances de la chambre des pairs sont publiques comme celles de la chambre des députés.

28. La chambre des pairs connaît des crimes de haute trahison et des attentats à la sûreté de l'Etat, qui seront définis par la loi<sup>4</sup>.

<sup>3</sup> L'article 23 de la Charte, remplacé par la loi du 9 décembre 1831, était ainsi conçu : " La nomination des pairs de France appartient au Roi. Leur nombre est illimité : il peut en varier les dignités, les nommer à vie, ou les rendre héréditaires, selon sa volonté."

<sup>4</sup> L. du 9 sept. 1835, art. 1 et 2 C. de la presse.—La loi qui devait définir l'attentat n'a pas encore été rendue.

29. Aucun pair ne peut être arrêté que de l'autorité de la chambre, et jugé que par elle en matière criminelle.

*De la chambre des députés des départements.*

30. La chambre des députés sera composée des députés élus par les collèges électoraux dont l'organisation sera déterminée par des lois <sup>5</sup>.

31. Les députés seront élus pour cinq ans.

32. Aucun député ne peut être admis dans la chambre s'il n'est âgé de trente ans, et s'il ne réunit les autres conditions déterminées par la loi.

33. Si néanmoins il ne se trouvait pas dans le département cinquante personnes de l'âge indiqué, payant le cens d'éligibilité déterminé par la loi, leur nombre sera complété par les plus imposés au dessous du taux de ce cens, et ceux-ci pourront être élus concurremment avec les premiers.

34. Nul n'est électeur, s'il a moins de vingt-cinq ans, et s'il ne réunit les autres conditions déterminées par la loi <sup>6</sup>.

35. Les présidents des collèges électoraux sont nommés par les électeurs.

36. La moitié au moins des députés sera choisie parmi les éligibles qui ont leur domicile politique dans le département.

37. Le président de la chambre des députés est élu par elle à l'ouverture de chaque session.

38. Les séances de la chambre sont publiques ; mais la demande de cinq membres suffit pour qu'elle se forme en comité secret.

39. La chambre se partage en bureaux pour discuter les projets qui lui ont été présentés de la part du Roi.

40. Aucun impôt ne peut être établi ni perçu, s'il n'a été consenti par les deux chambres, et sanctionné par le Roi.

41. L'impôt foncier n'est consenti que pour un an. Les impositions indirectes peuvent l'être pour plusieurs années <sup>7</sup>.

42. Le Roi convoque chaque année les deux chambres :

<sup>5</sup> L. du 12 sept. 1830 sur la réélection des députés promus à des fonctions publiques salariées, et L. du 19 avril 1831 sur les élections à la chambre des députés. C. élect.

<sup>6</sup> L. du 19 avril 1831. C. élect.

<sup>7</sup> C. Contrib.

il les proroge, et peut dissoudre celle des députés ; mais, dans ce cas, il doit en convoquer une nouvelle dans le délai de trois mois.

43. Aucune contrainte par corps ne peut être exercée contre un membre de la chambre durant la session, et dans les six semaines qui l'auront précédée ou suivie.

44. Aucun membre de la chambre ne peut, pendant la durée de la session, être poursuivi ni arrêté en matière criminelle, sauf le cas de flagrant délit, qu'après que la chambre a permis sa poursuite.

45. Toute pétition à l'une ou à l'autre des chambres ne peut être faite et présentée que par écrit : la loi interdit d'en apporter en personne et à la barre.

#### *Des ministres.*

46. Les ministres peuvent être membres de la chambre des pairs ou de la chambre des députés.—Ils ont en outre leur entrée dans l'une et l'autre chambre, et doivent être entendus quand ils le demandent.

47. La chambre des députés a le droit d'accuser les ministres et de les traduire devant la chambre des pairs, qui seule a celui de les juger.

#### *De l'ordre judiciaire<sup>8</sup>.*

48. Toute justice émane du Roi ; elle s'administre en son nom par des juges qu'il nomme et qu'il institue.

49. Les juges nommés par le Roi sont inamovibles.

50. Les cours et tribunaux ordinaires actuellement existant sont maintenus ; il n'y sera rien changé qu'en vertu d'une loi.

51. L'institution actuelle des juges de commerce est conservée. Co. 615, s.

52. La justice de paix est également conservée. Les juges de paix, quoique nommés par le Roi, ne sont point inamovibles.

53. Nul ne pourra être distrait de ses juges naturels.

54. Il ne pourra en conséquence être créé de commissions et

<sup>8</sup> V. Constit. des 3-14 sept. 1791, tit. III, chap. V ; du 22 frim. an VIII, tit. V.

de tribunaux extraordinaires, à quelque titre et sous quelque dénomination que ce puisse être.

55. Les débats seront publics en matière criminelle, à moins que cette publicité ne soit dangereuse pour l'ordre et les mœurs ; et, dans ce cas, le tribunal le déclare par un jugement <sup>9</sup>.

56. L'institution des jurés est conservée. Les changements qu'une plus longue expérience ferait juger nécessaires ne peuvent être effectués que par une loi <sup>1</sup>.

57. La peine de la confiscation des biens est abolie et ne pourra pas être rétablie.

58. Le Roi a le droit de faire grâce et celui de commuer les peines.

59. Le Code civil et les lois actuellement existantes, qui ne sont pas contraires à la présente Charte, restent en vigueur jusqu'à ce qu'il y soit légalement dérogé.

*Droits particuliers garantis par l'Etat.*

60. Les militaires en activité de service, les officiers et soldats en retraite, les veuves, les officiers et soldats pensionnés conserveront leurs grades, honneurs et pensions.

61. La dette publique est garantie. Toute espèce d'engagement pris par l'Etat avec ses créanciers est inviolable.

62. La noblesse ancienne reprend ses titres, la nouvelle conserve les siens. Le Roi fait des nobles à volonté ; mais il ne leur accorde que des rangs et des honneurs, sans aucune exemption des charges et des devoirs de la société.

63. La légion-d'honneur est maintenue. Le Roi déterminera les règlements intérieurs et la décoration.

64. Les colonies sont régies par des lois particulières.

65. Le Roi et ses successeurs jureront à leur avènement, en présence des chambres réunies, d'observer fidèlement la Charte constitutionnelle.

66. La présente Charte et tous les droits qu'elle consacre demeurent confiés au patriotisme et au courage des gardes nationales et de tous les citoyens français <sup>2</sup>.

<sup>9</sup> C. pr. 87. C. I. cr. 153, 171, 190 et 309.

<sup>1</sup> C. I. cr. 381, s.

<sup>2</sup> Les crimes et délits contre la Charte constitutionnelle sont punis par les art. 109, s. du C. p.

67. La France reprend ses couleurs. A l'avenir, il ne sera plus porté d'autre cocarde que la cocarde tricolore.

*Dispositions particulières.*

68. Toutes les nominations et créations nouvelles de pairs faites sous le règne du roi Charles X. sont déclarées nulles et non avenues.—L'article 23 de la Charte sera soumis à un nouvel examen dans la session de 1831<sup>3</sup>.

69. Il sera pourvu successivement, par des lois séparées, et dans le plus court délai possible, aux objets qui suivent :—1° L'application du jury aux délits de la presse et aux délits politiques<sup>4</sup> ; 2° la responsabilité des ministres et des autres agents du pouvoir<sup>5</sup> ;—3° la réélection des députés promus à des fonctions publiques salariées<sup>6</sup> ;—4° le vote annuel du contingent de l'armée<sup>7</sup> ;—5° l'organisation de la garde nationale, avec intervention des gardes nationaux dans le choix de leurs officiers<sup>8</sup> ;—6° des dispositions qui assurent d'une manière légale l'état des officiers de toute grade de terre ou de mer<sup>9</sup> ;—7° des institutions départementales et municipales fondées sur un système électif<sup>1</sup> ; 8° l'instruction publique et la liberté de l'enseignement<sup>2</sup> ;—9° l'abolition du double vote et la fixation des conditions électorales et d'éligibilité<sup>3</sup>.

70. Toutes les lois et ordonnances, en ce qu'elles ont de con-

<sup>3</sup> L. du 29 décem. 1831.

<sup>4</sup> L. des 8 oct. 29, nov. 1830 et 9 sept. 1835. C. presse.

<sup>5</sup> C. p. 114 et *la note*.

<sup>6</sup> L. du 12 sept. 1830 sur la réélection des députés C. élect.

<sup>7</sup> L. sur le recrutement de l'armée. C. armée.

<sup>8</sup> L. du 21 mars 1832, du 19 avril 1832 et du 14 juillet 1837 C. garde nationale.

<sup>9</sup> La loi du 19 mai 1834 a fixé l'état des officiers de terre et de mer. Les lois antérieures des 11 et 12 avril 1831 ont établi les droits des militaires de l'armée de terre et de mer aux pensions d'ancienneté et de retraite, et en ont fixé la quotité.

<sup>1</sup> L. du 21 mars 1831, du 22 juin 1833, du 20 avril 1834. C. munic. et départ.

<sup>2</sup> C. instr. pub., L. du 28 juin 1833 sur l'instruction primaire.

<sup>3</sup> L. du 19 avril 1831. C. élect.



traire aux dispositions adoptées pour la réforme de la Charte, sont dès à présent et demeurent annulées et abrogées.

(Note to p. 25.)

A very able writer in the *Semeur* (a Protestant periodical), of June, 1844, shows very clearly that this distinction of *doctrine* and *discipline*, as here understood, is inconsistent with the fundamental principles of Romanism, and must be renounced by true Romanists. His remarks on the *necessary* subjection of the *temporal* power to the *spiritual* in the genuine Romanist theory, and, on the change in the position of the Church of France since the year 1826—and on the temporary *abeyance* of the *secular* claims of the Papacy—are deserving of the most attentive consideration.

“ M. le Comte de Montalembert est membre de la société religieuse premièrement, et *n'est* membre de la *société civile* qu'ensuite, autant que le lui permettent les lois de l'Eglise. Il ne connaît, à y bien réfléchir, qu'une seule souveraineté, au moins une seule souveraineté entière, absolue, indispensable, celle dont le Pape Grégoire XVI. est le dépositaire et l'interprète. L'autre souveraineté, celle de la *puissance temporelle*, il ne la nie pas explicitement, mais elle n'est à ses yeux que d'un ordre *inférieur et borné*, c'est à dire, en termes plus clairs, que *cette deuxième souveraineté n'existe pas véritablement*; car une souveraineté subordonnée à une autre, ce n'est plus qu'un nom : la chose même s'est évanouie.

“ Telle était, sous la Restauration, la doctrine de M. de La Mennais, qui depuis, . . . et alors elle était désavouée par une nombreuse fraction du clergé Gallican. Telle est aujourd'hui la doctrine de M. le Comte de Montalembert, et elle trouve presque partout faveur et appui dans l'épiscopat ! Le sacerdoce Catholique Romain, on le voit, a modifié ses idées en France depuis 1826, époque où il laissait paisiblement citer devant les tribunaux M. de La Mennais pour son livre intitulé : *De la Religion considérée dans ses rapports avec l'ordre politique et civil*. L'auteur avait-il commis d'autre faute, si faute il y a, que celle d'avoir attaqué, comme M. de Montalembert l'a fait à la tribune,

les quatre articles de 1682, et déclaré que l'*Eglise Gallicane*, constituée de la sorte, devient *schismatique* ?

" A parler vrai, c'est là l'*esprit du Catholicisme Romain*; c'est la pensée du Saint-Siège, sa logique, sa prétention constante et invariable. *Nos hommes d'Etat*, anciens et nouveaux, ont pris beaucoup de peine pour se faire illusion sur ce point; ils ont imaginé laborieusement un Catholicisme qu'on pourrait qualifier de Protestantisme poltron, et l'ont donné pour la croyance des Catholiques de France; comme s'il leur appartenait de déterminer ce que Rome doit penser et enseigner, tout en professant de lui rester soumis! M. de Montalembert a eu raison de répondre à cela: 'Oui, l'Eglise de Grégoire XVI. est la même que celle de saint Grégoire VII., comme celle de saint Grégoire VII. était la même que celle de saint Grégoire-le-Grand, de saint Basile et de saint Hilaire<sup>4</sup>. Ah! certainement, ce serait bien plus commode s'il en était autrement! Je comprends que pour nos hommes d'Etat il serait plus commode que l'Eglise pût varier dans ses dogmes, dans ses droits, dans ses prétentions, dans ses pratiques, comme les codes et les tribunaux. Il n'y aurait à cela qu'un petit inconvénient: c'est que l'Eglise Catholique ne serait plus l'Eglise; elle ne serait plus qu'une de ces sectes religieuses qui se transforment de siècle en siècle suivant les milieux où elles vivent.'

" M. Rossi à la tribune de la Chambre des Pairs, et M. Dupin, dans sa brochure, ont cru réfuter victorieusement M. de Montalembert par leur distinction entre *le dogme et la discipline*, entre *la croyance et les pratiques de la Papauté*. Cette distinction est-elle réelle, en principe et en fait? A-t-elle la moindre valeur, quand on se place au point de vue de M. de Montalembert? *Nous ne le pensons pas*. En principe, c'est le même pouvoir souverain qui décide ce qui est de dogme et ce qui est de discipline, et si l'on doit se soumettre à l'un, de quel droit serait-on dispensé de se soumettre à l'autre? Ce serait nier la souveraineté de Rome dans une partie essentielle de ses attributions;

<sup>4</sup> Il serait superflu de montrer que l'orateur remonte trop haut dans sa thèse. De ce que Rome n'a abandonné aucune de ses prétentions depuis Grégoire VII., il ne s'ensuit pas qu'elle n'en ait point formulé de nouvelles depuis saint Hilaire.—(Note du Semeur.)

ce serait retirer d'une main ce qu'on accorde de l'autre, puisque la discipline pénètre de tous côtés dans le dogme, et que le Saint-Siège est toujours maître de nommer dogme ce que les Gallicans nomment discipline ; ce serait enfin entrer dans la voie qui a conduit l'Assemblée Constituante à établir la constitution civile du clergé. Jamais un fidèle Catholique Romain n'acceptera cette distinction. En fait, Rome n'a pas varié dans ses prétentions ou dans sa discipline plus que dans ses doctrines depuis le moyen âge. Elle a pu, dans certains moments de crise, garder le silence ou se couvrir d'un voile ; elle s'est tenue à l'écart, pour laisser passer l'orage, mais sans rien concéder, et en se réservant de faire reparaitre ses exigences dans des temps meilleurs. La distinction de MM. Dupin et Rossi, distinction qu'ils ont eux-mêmes empruntée aux anciens jurisconsultes, est donc complètement vaine pour le Saint-Siège et pour ses fidèles adhérents. Ils ont confondu de simples mesures de précaution temporaire avec de variations positives et définitivement acquises. Rome est patiente ; elle n'est pas changeante, et si elle suppose que le jour est revenu pour elle de réhabiliter en France toutes ses anciennes maximes, elle est pleinement dans son droit, une fois le principe de sa souveraineté spirituelle admis. C'est la question du poète : *'To be or not to be.'* MM. Rossi et Dupin sont bien libres de n'être plus Catholiques Romains, mais ils ne peuvent continuer de l'être qu'à ce prix. Il n'y a pas devant Rome de demi-Protestantisme ; on obéit de tout point, ou l'on n'obéit plus du tout. Les Jansénistes étaient des Protestants dans son sens, quoi qu'ils en aient dit, si même ils n'étaient pires. Les héritiers des traditions parlementaires le sont à leur tour. Ne vous y trompez pas : c'est à prendre ou à laisser.

“ Or, M. de Montalembert veut être tout de bon Catholique Romain, et c'est avec l'esprit de la Papauté qu'il apprécie toutes les lois de l'Etat. Si elles sont d'accord avec celles de l'Eglise, il les admet ; sinon, non. Vous avez certaines maximes qui constituent à votre avis les libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane, et vous y tenez beaucoup ; mais le Pape, seul souverain dans ces matières en l'absence d'un concile universel, ou dans le silence de l'épiscopat, les a désavouées et condamnées : *arrière donc les libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane !* Vous avez aussi des articles

organiques du Concordat, et vous prétendez lui attribuer une autorité égale à celle du Concordat même. Mais M. de Montalembert y fait une très-grande différence. Le Pape a signé le Concordat, et il a repoussé les articles organiques ; dès lors nous respectons l'un, et nous ne reconnaissons pas les autres. Tout cela est très-logique, très-conséquent, tout cela est inévitable dans le Catholicisme Romain du noble Pair. C'est Rome qui parle par sa bouche, et si elle ne parle pas elle-même en ces termes, ce n'est qu'une affaire de *prudence*, sachez-le bien.

“ M. Dupin est fort scandalisé d'avoir entendu M. de Montalembert rejeter la déclaration de 1682 par le motif que le Saint-Siège l'a improuvée et condamnée. ‘ Une loi de l'Etat, s'écrie-t-il avec indignation, non exécutée, et qui ne pouvait pas l'être, parce qu'elle avait été *cassée et annulée par le Saint-Siège* ! et une telle énormité a pu être proférée au sien d'une assemblée législative, sous la présidence d'un chancelier de France ! ’ M. Dupin n'y songe pas ; il oublie que M. le comte de Montalembert a dit en même temps que le Saint-Siège est *la plus haute autorité que reconnaissent les Catholiques*. Est-ce vrai, oui ou non, dans la doctrine du Catholicisme Romain ? C'était le point de la question. On doit admirer ces juriscultes qui ont imaginé, forgé une sorte de Catholicisme *parlementaire*, sans l'aveu du chef des Catholiques, malgré ses désaveux, et qui se fâchent ensuite de se voir démentis par le Catholicisme du Pape, tout en persistant à soutenir qu'ils sont fidèles à la Papauté ! Ils invoquent, à la vérité, le nom de Bossuet, et la décision de l'épiscopat Gallican. Mais Bossuet, avec tout son génie, n'était pourtant qu'un simple évêque, et l'épiscopat de France n'est point tout l'épiscopat Catholique, en admettant même que tout l'épiscopat pût prévaloir contre une désapprobation formelle du Saint-Siège, ce qui est contesté. Hérésie, hérésie protestante que d'élever l'autorité d'un évêque ou celle d'un concile national au-dessus de l'autorité de Rome ! Eh ! soyez donc conséquents : ayez le courage de votre opinion, et ne vous arrêtez pas au milieu du chemin, après avoir proclamé vos maximes d'une voix si fière ! Si votre Catholicisme parlementaire et national est le *véritable Catholicisme*, DÉSAVOUEZ LE PAPE QUI VOUS DÉSAVOUE, ET DÉCLAREZ-VOUS INDÉPENDENTS !

VOUS NE POUVEZ PAS AVOIR UN PIED DANS LE CATHOLICISME ET L'AUTRE DANS LE PROTESTANTISME."

The author proceeds to state the *true grounds* to be taken by the Gallicans who desire to deliver their country from the yoke of the usurpations, corruptions, and innovations of the Papacy.

"Aussi, tous les textes de lois que M. Dupin oppose à M. le Comte de Montalembert ne seront pour ce dernier et pour la masse des Catholiques *fidèles* que des arguments puérils. *C'était plus haut qu'il fallait porter la discussion.* Prouvez à M. de Montalembert, s'il vous est possible, que le Pape ne possède pas l'autorité suprême dans les choses de religion; montrez-lui qu'il a un compte à régler là-dessus avec les rois, et les membres du Parlement, et les procureurs généraux. Cherchez vos preuves, non dans les arrêts des corps judiciaires, mais dans la Bible et dans les écrits des Pères de l'Eglise, et dans les actes des conciles, et dans les déclarations des Papes eux-mêmes. Nous n'affirmons pas que vous convaincrez M. de Montalembert, mais du moins vous aurez frappé juste, tandis que votre brochure frappe toujours à côté. Il ne peut voir en vous jusqu'ici que les erreurs d'un légiste qui se croit Catholique et qui ne l'est point."

(Note to p. 43.)

It was observed (above, p. 15, 58,) that the *Charte* of 1830, though framed on *anti-papal* principles and by parties most hostile to the *papacy*, has had the effect of *promoting* the interests of Rome in a most remarkable manner: and what is true with respect to Rome is also the case with regard to the Religious Orders, the spiritual *gendarmerie* of Rome, especially the *Jesuits*. By guaranteeing to every one an equality of liberty and protection in the profession of his religion, without any qualification or restriction, (art. 5.) the *Charte* of 1830 has, without its knowledge and against its will, placed the Religious Orders in an entirely new and most favourable position.

So it is, that after a slumber of fifteen years, France now awakes, and finds to her great surprise, that she made a *Revolution* in 1830, for the benefit of the *Pope* and the *Jesuits*!

"Are religious orders necessary to religion? Are they an

integral part of it?" "Yes, certainly," replies M. de Montalembert and the high Catholic party, "the religious orders are the body-guard of the sovereign pontiff: you cannot touch them without hurting him. They are all organized with his permission and under his sanction. You cannot dissolve them without maiming the Church. The Jesuits are, in Pius the VIIth's words, the 'strong rowers' of the bark of St. Peter: attack them, and you injure him. If you are Catholics, then, you must respect the favoured children of the Father of the faithful, the vigorous members of the Head of the Church. In the name of religion and the *Charte* touch not a hair of the Jesuits." Such is M. Montalembert's argument.

The following are his words on this subject in his speech, delivered in the Chamber of Peers, June 11th, 1845.

"On croit nous avoir fermé la bouche en disant que les Jésuites ne sont pas l'Eglise. Personne n'a jamais dit qu'ils fussent l'Eglise. Mais ce qu'on dit, c'est qu'ils sont dans l'Eglise, qu'ils sont de l'Eglise, qu'ils sont ses fils les plus dévoués, les soldats les plus fidèles, et *qu'on ne peut pas leur faire injure sans faire injure à l'Eglise*. Et cela par la raison toute simple qu'on ne peut pas faire injure à ceux qui font le service d'une puissance, qui portent ses couleurs, sans faire injure à cette puissance; qu'on ne peut pas faire injure au *fils* d'une mère sans faire injure à cette *mère elle-même*; on ne peut pas les retrancher de l'Eglise sans les mutiler, pas plus qu'on ne peut retrancher le doigt de la main, la main du corps, sans mutiler le corps tout entier."

In the same speech, in reply to the allegation that the Jesuits are dangerous to the state because they take *an oath of allegiance* to a foreign power, he defends them on the plea that the oath which *they* take to the pope is not more stringent than that taken by Romanist *Bishops* to the same sovereign pontiff, and that *therefore* the charge against them must be dismissed! His words deserve to be cited as showing that neither the Jesuits nor the Roman Catholic Bishops *can be* (properly speaking) *subjects* of a temporal power, on account of the oath of allegiance which they take to the Pope.

"On les accuse ensuite d'être anti-nationaux, soumis à un

chef étranger. Mais cela est encore applicable à l'*Eglise* elle-même.

"L'honorable comte Portalis reprochait l'an dernier aux Jésuites d'avoir pour patrie le monde. Mais c'est là précisément le triomphe et la gloire de l'*Eglise Catholique* !

"Quant au serment spécial qu'on reproche aux Jésuites de faire envers le Pape, je suppose que l'auteur de ce reproche n'a jamais lu un livre qu'on appelle le *Pontifical*, et dans lequel se trouve le serment prêté par les *évêques*.

"J'ai comparé les deux serments, et je déclare que celui des *évêques*, contre lequel personne ne s'est jamais élevé, me paraît au moins *aussi impératif*; et je me persuade que quand vous l'aurez lu, si vous voulez en prendre la peine, vous le trouverez de même."

M. Montalembert appears to forget that sovereigns have a *natural right* to the allegiance of their subjects; and that therefore the oath of Romanist Bishops and Jesuits is an *illegal* oath, and ought *not to be taken*, and, if taken, ought to be abjured.

The Bishops of the Church of France seem determined to identify themselves with the Jesuits. Already, before any active step has been taken against them, two members of the episcopate, (the Bishop of Chartres in a letter to the minister of worship, dated May 20, 1845, and the Bishop of Châlons in a letter to the *Univers*, May 24, 1845,) have intimated, that if the Jesuits are ejected from their houses by the civil power they will receive them into their own palaces: and the former, the Bishop of Chartres, thus writes:

"Je sais, Monsieur le Ministre, que *plusieurs* archevêques et évêques vous ont fait connaître, que si les Jésuites étaient chassés de leurs maisons, ceux-ci trouveraient un asile dans celle qu'ils habitent eux-mêmes."

It is for the competent authorities in France to determine whether the principles laid down by Ignatius of Loyola in his "*Constitutions*," as carried out in practice by his disciples, are or are not detrimental to the security and welfare of States; but if they are prejudicial to the public peace, and if they who were controlled by the old laws of France have been emancipated by the *Charte*, it will be observed as a remarkable phe-

nomenon, that the *Charte* of 1830, which vaunted itself as an act of universal *toleration*, has turned out to be an act by which the French State *persecutes good citizens and itself!* . . .

Since this was written, France has decided this question ; and the Jesuits are suppressed.

(Note to p. 46.)

In the beginning of the month of March, 1844, the Archbishop of Paris, together with four of his suffragans, addressed a memorial to the King on the subject of National Education. On the 10th of the same month the following letter to him appeared in the *Moniteur*.

“ Paris, 8 Mars, 1844.

“ MONSEIGNEUR,

“ Vous avez adressé au Roi un Mémoire concerté entre vous et quatre de vos suffragants, qui, comme vous, l'ont revêtu de leurs signatures.

“ Dans ce Mémoire, examinant à votre point de vue la question de la liberté d'enseignement, vous avez essayé de jeter un blâme général sur les établissements d'instruction publique fondés par l'Etat, sur le personnel du corps enseignant tout entier, et dirigé des insinuations offensantes contre un des ministres du Roi.

“ Un journal vient de donner à ce Mémoire l'éclat de la publicité.

“ Je ne doute pas que ce dernier fait ne se soit accompli sans votre concours ; mais je ne dois pas moins vous déclarer que le Gouvernement du Roi improuve l'œuvre même que vous avez souscrite, et parce qu'elle blesse gravement les convenances, et parce qu'elle est contraire au véritable esprit de la loi du 18 Germinal, an X.

“ Cette loi interdit, en effet, toute délibération dans une réunion d'évêques non autorisée : il serait étrange qu'une telle prohibition pût être éludée au moyen d'une correspondance établissant le concert et opérant la délibération, sans qu'il y eût assemblée.

“ J'espère qu'il m'aura suffi de vous rappeler les principes posés dans les articles organiques du concordat pour que vous vous absteniez désormais d'y porter atteinte.



" Agréer, Monseigneur, l'assurance de ma haute considération,  
 " Le Garde des Sceaux, ministre de la justice  
 " et des cultes, N. MARTIN (du Nord.)"

(Note to p. 47.)

On the present relations of Church and State in France, two very able pamphlets have been recently published at Paris by one of the most eminent members of the French episcopate, the Bishop of Langres, Mgr. Parisis, entitled "*Des Empiètements : est-ce l'Eglise qui empiète sur l'Etat ? est-ce l'Etat qui empiète sur l'Eglise ?*" Décembre, 1844, and "*Des Tendances,*" Avril, 1845.

The following extract from the former of these works (p. 109,) may serve to show the opinion of a French Bishop concerning the present position of his Church.

" 'Que vous manque-t-il ?' nous dira-t-on, 'Ce qui nous manque ! nous voyons sous nos yeux, sous nos mains, l'Eglise Catholique dont les évêques ne peuvent également ni recevoir les communications de leur chef visible, ni communiquer ensemble, ni transmettre à leur gré l'instruction à leurs ouailles ; nous voyons l'Eglise qui n'a plus à elle-même ni temples pour son culte, ni demeure pour ses ministres, ni terres pour ses défunts ; nous voyons l'Eglise qui n'a plus le droit ni d'élever selon ses principes la jeunesse qui lui appartient, ni de recevoir les dons qu'on veut lui faire, ni de distribuer à ses pauvres les aumônes publiques, ni enfin de se gouverner d'après ses lois : et vous demandez ce qui lui manque ? Il lui manque le plus cher de ses biens, le plus précieux de ses droits, la liberté !' "

(Note to p. 48.)

The French Bishops, in *admitting* the validity of the *Concordat* of 1801, are unanimous in *rejecting* the Organic Articles appended by Napoleon, without the sanction of the Pope, to the Concordat in 1802 ; and yet, as is very remarkable, the *amovibilité* of the *desservants*, for which the Bishops are now contending against the presbyters with earnestness almost approaching to a schism, rests not on the *Concordat*, but on the *Organic Articles*, sect. iv. art 81. " Les vicaires et *desservants* seront approuvés par l'évêque et *révocables* par lui." And what is still more ob-

servable is, that in the case recently laid before the Pope for his judgment by the Bishop of Liège, May, 1845, the *révocabilité* of the *desservants* seems after all to be alleged by the Bishop to rest on the *Concordat*!

The following are copies of the original letters of the Bishop and of the Pope's rescript, as communicated by the Bishop of Liège to the clergy of his diocese.

" CORNELIUS, miseratione divina Sanctæ Sedis apostolicæ gratia Episcopus Leodiensis, universo diœcesis nostræ clero, salutem in Domino.

" Ad vos, dilectissimi in Christo Fratres, ut munus est, transmittimus responsum Sedis Apostolicæ vobis communicandum, cujus tenor est, ut sequitur :

" BEATISSIME PATER,

" Infrascriptus Episcopus Leodiensis omni qua decet veneratione humillime petit, ut examinetur sequens dubium, sibique pro conservanda in sua diœcesi unitate inter clericos, et Ecclesiæ pace, communicetur solutio.

" An attentis præsentium rerum circumstantiis, in regionibus in quibus, ut in Belgio, sufficiens legum civilium fieri non potuit immutatio, valeat et in conscientia obliget usque ad aliam S. Sedis dispositionem disciplina inducta post CONCORDATUM anni 1801, ex qua episcopi rectoribus ecclesiarum quæ vocantur *succursales* jurisdictionem pro cura animarum conferre solent ad nutum *revocabilem*, et illi si *revocentur* vel alio mittantur, tenentur obedire.

" Cæterum Episcopi hac rectores revocandi vel transferendi auctoritate haud frequenter et non nisi prudenter ac paterne uti solent, adeo ut sacri ministerii stabilitati, quantum fieri potest, ex hisce rerum adjunctis, satis consultum videatur.

" ( Sign. ) † CORNELIUS, Episcopus Leodien."

*Réponse de la Congrégation interprète du Concile à Mgr. l'Evêque de Liège, sur la situation des DESSERVANTS.*

"Ex audientia SSmi die prima Maii 1845. Sanctissimus Dominus noster universa rei de qua in præcibus ratione mature perpensa, gravibusque ex causis animum suum moventibus, referente infrascripto Cardinali Sacræ Congregationis Concilii,

Præfecto, benigne annuit, ut in regimine ecclesiarum *succursatum*, de quibus agitur, nulla immutatio fiat, donec aliter à Sancta Apostolica Sede statutum fuerit.

“(Sign.) P. Card. POLIDORIUS, *Præf.*

“A. TOMASSETTI, *Sub. Secret.*

“In cujus fidem et conformitatem cum originali subscribimus. Leodii, hac 26 Maii, 1845.

“H. NEVEN, *Vic. Gen.*

“H.-J. JACQUEMOTTE, *Vic. Gen.*

“*De mandato*, F.-E. BREMANS, *Secret.*”

The *Lois Organiques* and the *Concordat* were acts in which the civil power had a part, indeed the principal one: and yet in this rescript the Pope declares that these laws are not to be altered until it shall seem fit to the Apostolic See!

Exorbitant powers are most dangerous to those who possess them, and the unlimited control which the French Bishops exercise over the *desservants* will in all probability prove not less dangerous to the French Church than any of the *empiètements* of the State.

(Note to p. 56.)

Since the above remarks were written, this subject—the erection of *barrières* in the churches, and the tax levied for chairs, &c.—has attracted the attention of the French Legislature; and as my friendly annotator, in p. 56, seems to think that I have been rather too severe in my criticisms on the practices there described, I beg to cite the following parliamentary interlocution, which took place in the Chamber of Deputies, 10th June, 1845.

“F. DE LASTÉYRIE. Je demande la parole.

“Le Gouvernement salarie certains cultes: il a bien le droit d'exiger que les fidèles soient traités d'une manière égale; aussi appellerai-je son attention sur la manière dont on les *parque dans certaines églises de Paris*.

“N'avez-vous pas vu ces *barrières scandaleuses* établies dans nos églises pour séparer le riche du pauvre? et vous savez aussi que, dans ce partage, ce n'est pas le pauvre qui est privilégié.

“*Autrefois* on avait établi aussi des barrières, mais c'était pour prévenir, pour empêcher, que les sermons, que les services

divins ne fussent troublés par le bruit ; autrefois le pauvre, comme le riche, pouvait pénétrer dans toutes les parties de l'Eglise ; il pouvait prier à côté du riche, et s'il n'avait pas le moyen de payer une chaise, il avait au moins la consolation de s'approcher de l'autel comme tous ses frères en religion.

"A la porte des barrières dont je parle, il y a non-seulement les hommes attachés à l'église, il y a encore des agents de la force publique. Eh bien ! quelquefois, me rendant à des mariages, je me suis présenté à ces barrières, l'agent de la force publique me laissait passer, parce que j'étais vêtu comme nous le sommes tous ici ; mais venait-il derrière moi un ouvrier, l'agent de la force publique l'empêchait de passer ; c'est là un abus, un abus scandaleux, sur lequel *j'appelle l'attention de M. le ministre.*

"La pauvre mère qui a des enfants, la pauvre mère qui veut s'approcher avec eux de la table de la communion et de la chaire du prédicateur ; cette pauvre mère qui a tant de peine à gagner son quotidien, on lui enlève une journée de salarie pour lui accorder le droit de s'approcher de la sainte table, pour lui permettre de venir s'agenouiller au pied de l'autel.

"Je sais bien que les affaires intérieures de l'église regardent particulièrement les curés et les conseils de fabrique ; mais enfin le Gouvernement a le droit d'intervention dans l'exercice des cultes qu'il salarie : il a le droit d'exiger que le riche et le pauvre soient traités sur le pied de l'égalité. Ce n'est pas un blâme que j'adresse ici au Gouvernement ; c'est un point sur lequel j'appelle son attention ; c'est un abus que je lui signale pour qu'il le réprime.

"M. LE GARDE DES SCAUX. *Les observations qui viennent de vous être faites sont parfaitement justes ; j'ai prévenu les désirs de l'honorable préopinant à l'occasion des abus intolérables qui se sont glissés dans certaines églises de Paris. J'ai écrit à ce sujet à M. l'archevêque de Paris, qui m'a répondu qu'il s'entendrait avec les curés et les conseils de fabrique pour chercher à faire cesser ces abus.*"

My observations on this subject in page 56 were written in the spirit which deplores a bad *practice*, without censuring *persons* ; I did not pretend to pronounce any opinion on the question, who the parties in fault may be.

## Note to p. 70.

As a specimen of the *encyclopædic* character of the subjects of instruction in the schools of Paris, we may cite, *first*, from M. Mourice's Prospectus, the following :—

“ L'Enseignement a principalement pour objet :

“ Les Langues Française, Grecque et Latine, l'Anglais et l'Allemand, l'Italien et l'Espagnol, l'Hébreu et l'Arabe, etc.

“ La Rhétorique et la Philosophie ;

“ La Cosmographie, la Géographie, et l'Histoire.

“ Les Mathématiques élémentaires : Arithmétique, Géométrie, Trigonométrie, Algèbre, Géométrie Analytique, Eléments de Statique et de Mécanique.

“ Les Sciences Naturelles : Chimie, Physique, Minéralogie, Géologie, Botanique, Zoologie.

“ Nota. La Maison renferme un Laboratoire de Chimie, un Cabinet de Physique, de Minéralogie, et de Géologie, des Solides, pour la Géométrie, une Collection de Machines pour la Mécanique et pour la Physique appliquée aux Arts.

“ La Tenue des Livres et toutes les études relatives au Commerce et à l'Industrie.

“ La Musique Vocale et la Musique Instrumentale.

“ La Peinture et tous les genres de Dessin : Dessin Linéaire appliqué à la Perspective, à la Mécanique et à l'Architecture ; Dessin de Figure, de Paysage, de Marine,” etc.

Secondly, from that of the Collège Royal de Louis-le-Grand :—

## OBJETS DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT.

“ Religion, Langues anciennes et modernes, Belles-Lettres, Philosophie, Histoire, Mathématiques, Physique, Histoire Naturelle, Géographie, Ecriture, Dessin, Arts d'agrément, Gymnastique.”

I subjoin the following extracts from the popular brochure of the modern Montaigne, M. le Vicomte de Cermenin, entitled “*Feu ! Feu !*” published in the present year (1845),—and of which 42,000 copies have been bought in six weeks—which presents a ludicrous, but graphic and correct picture of the omnigenous variety of study in the French schools, and gives some intimation of the moral and intellectual sterility which is

its consequence ; and exhibits the lamentable *deficiency* under which they suffer in *another* respect. His remarks may be read with profit in our own country. He asks :—

“ Or, cette société officielle, d'où sort-elle presque tout entière ? De dessus ou dessous les bancs de l'Université. L'Université donne-t-elle aux enfants de l'éducation morale ? Aucune. Pourquoi ? Parce que *c'est le fait de la famille*. De l'éducation religieuse ? Aucune. Pourquoi ? Parce que c'est le fait des *prêtres*. Là-dessus, on se récrie et l'on dit : Comment ? Mais nous avons des *aumôniers* ! Vous avez ce que vous voudrez, ce n'est pas là la question. La question est tout simplement de savoir si les jeunes gens qui nous arrivent de votre Université ont ou non de la religion. Eh bien, moi, je vous dis qu'ils *n'en ont pas*. Le pourquoi ils n'en ont pas n'est pas difficile à trouver. Ils n'en ont pas, parce que l'Université n'est pas faite, encore une fois, pour enseigner à ses élèves la morale et la religion. Est-ce qu'il ne lui reste pas, sans cela, bien assez de choses à ne pas leur apprendre ? *Thème Grec et vers Latins, version, grammaire, histoire, escrime, géographie, équitation, natation, cosmographie, Allemand, discours Latin, gymnastique, dessin, amplifications, physique, musique et métaphysique, éthique et mathématique, chimie, philosophie, orthographie*. Ils dansent et ils font leurs prières, ils communient et se lavent les mains, ils se peignent et se confessent ; tout cela est pêle-mêle dans le programme et exécuté comme une consigne, au battis du tambour : qui le nie ? Mais quand on les a, pendant dix ans, brossés, lavés, peignés, bourrés de Grec, de Latin, de musique, d'Allemand, d'histoire, de vers, de prose, de chimie, de cosmographie, de physique, de métaphysique, de philosophie et d'orthographie, *que savent-ils de Grec, de Latin, de musique, d'Allemand, d'histoire, de vers, de prose, de chimie, de cosmographie, d'éthique, de physique, de métaphysique, de philosophie et d'orthographie ? C'est ce que je pourrais vous dire* ; mais j'aime mieux que vous le demandiez aux examinateurs de ces petits messieurs.

“ Pour ce qui est de savoir ce qu'ils ont appris de morale et de religion, ayez la complaisance de vous adresser aux élèves eux-mêmes, lorsqu'ils descendent les escaliers de la Sorbonne, avec leur diplôme de bachelier sous le bras, et vous allez voir ce qu'ils vont vous répondre :

"Monsieur le bachelier, à qui j'ôte mon chapeau, que savez-vous en religion ? Rien.

"Entrez-vous parfois à l'église ? Jamais.

"Quelles sont vos œuvres de charité ? Aucune.

"Que faites-vous le matin ? Je fume.

"Et le soir ? Je polke.

"Très-bien ! vous voyez avec quelle candeur viennent de me répondre ces bacheliers fraîchement reçus.

"Mais après avoir vu ce qu'ils sont, voyons un peu ce qu'ils deviennent.

"Où va-t-elle, cette jeunesse sceptique ? Où elle va ? Elle va à l'Ecole-Normale, elle peuple vos collèges ; elle va à l'Ecole de Droit, et elle peuple vos tribunaux, vos Cours royales et votre Cour de Cassation, vos barreaux, vos études de notaires, d'avoués d'huissiers ; elle va aux Ecoles de médecine, et elle peuple vos Facultés, vos hôpitaux, vos cités et vos villages ; elle va à l'Ecole-Polytechnique, et elle peuple vos mines, vos ponts-et-chaussées, votre artillerie et votre génie de terre et de mer ; elle va aux écoles préparatoires de Saint-Cyr, de La Flèche et d'Angoulême, et elle peuple vos armées et vos vaisseaux ; elle va à votre Institut, et elle peuple vos cinq classes ; elle va au Conseil-d'Etat, où elle juge à tort et à travers des cas de *théologie* ; elle va dans les grosses maires, les sous-préfectures et les préfectures, où elle se dispute contre les *curés et les évêques* ; elle va dans les *deux Chambres*," &c.

After reading this sketch of the career of the present French generation (1810—1845), who can be surprised that the ruling powers of France should now find it necessary to defend Paris against itself by a circle of fortifications, and should endeavour to maintain its tranquillity by putting itself into a state of siege ?

#### Note to p. 84.

Lettre de l'Assemblée du Clergé de France, tenue en 1682, à tous les Prélats de l'Eglise Gallicane. (Dated "à Paris, le 19 Mars, 1682.")

... "Nous le disons avec confiance, nos très-chers collègues, en empruntant les paroles de Saint CYPRIEN, 'Celui qui abandonne la chaire de Pierre, sur laquelle l'Eglise a été fondée n'est plus dans l'Eglise.'"

## Note to p. 88.

The condemnation to which my Annotator refers was a very important act, and has already been very fruitful in its consequences. It is entitled, "Mandement de S. E. Mgr le Cardinal de Bonald, archevêque de Lyon et de Vienne, primat des Gaules, &c., portant condamnation d'un livre intitulé: Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français, par M. Dupin, docteur en droit, procureur-général près la Cour de Cassation, député de la Nièvre, &c., &c., Paris, 1844; et d'un Ecrit du même Auteur, intitulé: Réfutation des Assertions de M. le Comte de Montalembert, dans son Manifeste Catholique." After reciting at great length the grounds of condemnation, the Archbishop concludes as follows:—

"A ces causes, après avoir examiné nous-même le livre intitulé: *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français*, par M. Dupin, &c.

"Le saint nom de Dieu invoqué: nous avons condamné et condamnons lesdits ouvrages, comme contenant des doctrines propres à ruiner les *véritables libertés de l'Eglise*, pour mettre à leur place de honteuses *servitudes*; à accréditer des maximes opposées aux anciens Canons et aux maximes reçues dans l'Eglise de France; à affaiblir le *respect dû au Siège Apostolique*; à introduire dans l'Eglise le *Presbytérianisme*; à entraver l'exercice légitime de la *jurisdiction ecclésiastique*; à favoriser le *schisme et l'hérésie*: comme contenant des propositions respectivement fausses, hérétiques, et renouvelant les erreurs condamnées par la Bulle dogmatique *Auctorem fidei* de notre Saint Père le Pape, de glorieuse mémoire, Pie VI., du 28 Août, 1794.

"Nous défendons à tous les Ecclésiastiques de notre diocèse de lire et de retenir ces ouvrages; nous leur défendons d'en conseiller la lecture; nous défendons pareillement aux professeurs de théologie et de droit canon de mettre ces livres entre les mains de leurs élèves, et d'en expliquer les doctrines autrement que pour les réfuter et les combattre. Nous faisons la même défense aux professeurs de la Faculté de Théologie de l'*Université*.

"Et sera notre présent Mandement envoyé aux Curés de notre



diocèse, aux Supérieurs de nos séminaires, et aux Doyen et Professeurs de la Faculté de Théologie de l'Université.

“Donné à Lyon, en notre palais archiépiscopal, sous notre seing, le sceau de nos armes et le contre-seing de notre secrétaire, le 21 Novembre, jour de la Présentation de la sainte Vierge au temple, 1844.

“† L. J. M. CARD. DE BONALD, *Arch. de Lyon*.

“Par Mandement :

“ALLIBERT, *Chanoine-Secrétaire*.”

The Archbishop's *Mandement*, it will be seen, was published in November, 1844. On the 9th of March, 1845, appeared an *Ordonnance Royale*, condemning the Archbishop of an *Abus*, for censuring a book which teaches the doctrine of the four articles of the Gallican Church ; and, therefore, for infringing the law which requires those articles to be subscribed and taught in the ecclesiastical seminaries of France.

To this *Ordonnance Royale*, communicated to him by the Minister (the Garde-des-Sceaux, M. Martin, du Nord), the Archbishop replied in a letter of March 11th, in these terms :—

“*Lyon le 11 Mars, 1845.*”

“MONSIEUR LE MINISTRE,

“J'ai reçu l'ordonnance royale du 9 Mars que Votre Excellence a cru devoir m'envoyer. Je l'ai reçue dans un temps de l'année où l'Eglise retrace à notre souvenir *les appels comme d'abus* qui frappèrent la doctrine du Sauveur, et les sentences du Conseil-d'Etat de l'époque contre cette doctrine. Je l'ai reçue avec les dispositions qu'il était facile de prévoir.”

\* \* \* \* \*

The Archbishop first appeals to the bull *Auctorem fidei* :—

“J'invoque la bulle *Auctorem fidei* pour m'élever contre une erreur du *Manuel* de M. Dupin. *Le Conseil-d'Etat me condamne* ; mais, pour m'atteindre, il faut qu'il passe sur les maximes gallicanes les plus certaines, et qu'il continue cette suite d'attentats commis contre ces maximes depuis cinquante ans. Messieurs les conseillers d'Etat ne savent donc pas qu'il est admis en France, comme ailleurs, qu'une adressée aux fidèles pour leur servir de règle de croyance, acceptée par le consentement exprès ou tacite du corps épiscopal, doit être regardée comme le jugement

*irréformable de l'Eglise ?* Or, il en est ainsi de la bulle *Auctorem fidei*. Donc, même d'après nos maximes, il n'est pas permis à un Catholique de la rejeter. Elle n'est pas enregistrée : la question n'est pas là. C'est la règle de ma foi, c'est la règle de foi de tout Catholique véritable.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Je dois remarquer en passant que la bulle *Auctorem fidei* ne condamne pas le quatre articles ; mais elle condamne à cet égard le synode de Pistoie, parce qu'il voulait faire de la déclaration du clergé de France un décret de foi. S'il était vrai que la bulle condamnât cette déclaration, ma conscience m'obligerait alors de la condamner aussi, cette bulle étant un jugement irréformable de l'Eglise. Mais depuis le synode de Pistoie, les maximes ultramontaines opposées aux quatre articles sont des *opinions* comme avant le synode, puisque le Saint-Siège les abandonne aux disputes de l'école.”

He then invokes the protection of the *Charte* as authorizing the propagation, on the part of the Clergy, of any opinions which they may think fit to adopt concerning the Papal supremacy, and therefore respecting the *rights of the Crown* :—

“ J'ai dit dans mon mandement, qu'une loi de l'Etat ne pouvait pas m'obliger d'enseigner que *le Pape est inférieur au concile ; que le Pontife Romain parlant ex cathedra, est faillible*, et qu'il est soumis aux canons comme les autres évêques. Le Conseil-d'Etat me condamne ; et pour me frapper, il faut qu'il foule aux pieds l'article 7 de la *Charte* qui déclare que je suis libre d'imprimer, de publier, d'enseigner mon opinion. Ainsi, une loi de l'Etat interprétera ce texte de l'Evangile : *J'ai prié pour toi afin que ta foi ne défaille pas*. Et moi, évêque de l'Eglise Catholique, je ne pourrai pas imprimer, publier, enseigner dans mon diocèse une autre interprétation de ces paroles sacrées ! Il faudra que je donne aux jeunes lévites de mon séminaire celle qui émanera de l'autorité temporelle. Nous voilà donc revenus aux disputes théologiques du Bas-Empire. Si le Conseil-d'Etat me condamne parce que j'interprète les paroles de Jésus-Christ à Pierre dans le sens de l'infailibilité, il se met donc à la place de l'Eglise, et il m'enseigne la religion !

“ J'ai dit dans mon mandement que j'enseignerais dans mon

séminaire ce qui me paraîtrait plus conforme à l'Ecriture et à la tradition au sujet de la puissance de l'Eglise, et que, protégé par la Charte, qui maintient la liberté des opinions, je ne prendrais point d'engagement au sujet de la déclaration de 1682."

In conclusion he appeals from the *Privy Council* to the *Pope* :

" En jugeant et condamnant le *Manuel de Droit Ecclésiastique*, de M. Dupin, je n'ai pas prétendu m'attribuer l'infaillibilité. Je soumetts au *Pape* la condamnation que j'ai portée, comme je lui soumettrai tous les actes de mon ministère. C'est à lui qu'il appartient de reprendre ses frères dans l'épiscopat, et de casser ou de confirmer les sentences qu'ils prononcent. Si le Pasteur suprême, si l'évêque des évêques reconnaît que j'ai mal jugé et que j'ai condamné à tort le *Manuel*, aussitôt je prendrai la plume pour dire à mes diocésains que leur Archevêque s'est trompé, et que le jugement qu'il a porté a été réformé par le Vicaire de Jésus-Christ sur la terre. Je courberai la tête sous une sentence si vénérable, et je proclamerai, en présence des fidèles, la justice du coup qui m'aura frappé. Jusque-là, un appel comme d'abus ne peut pas même effleurer mon âme. Et puis, que peut-on contre un évêque qui, grâce à Dieu, ne tient à rien et qui se renferme dans sa conscience? J'ai pour moi la religion, la logique, et la Charte : je dois me consoler. Et quand, sur des points de doctrine Catholique, le Conseil-d'Etat a parlé, la cause n'est pas finie.

" Agréez, Monsieur le Ministre, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

" † L. J. M., CARD. DE BONALD, *Arch. de Lyon*."

This appeal to the Sovereign Pontiff was not long in vain. The Archbishop's letter is dated March 11th, and on the 5th of April following appeared a manifesto from the Vatican, of which the following is a French translation :—

" DÉCRET.

" Samedi, 5 Avril, 1845.

" La sacrée congrégation des éminentissimes et révérendissimes Cardinaux de la sainte Eglise romaine délégués et préposés par NOTRE TRÈS-SAINT PÈRE LE PAPE GRÉGOIRE XVI. et par le Saint-Siège apostolique à l'*Index* des mauvais livres, avec charge, s'étendant à toute la République chrétienne, de les pro-

scrire, et de les corriger et d'en permettre la lecture à qui de droit, tenué au Palais apostolique du Vatican, a *condamné et condamne*, a proscrit et proscrit, les ouvrages dont suivent les titres, a ordonné et ordonne de rappeler dans le présent décret ceux d'entre ces ouvrages qui, déjà condamnés et proscrits, sont à l'*Index* des livres prohibés.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ *Manuel du Droit Public Ecclésiastique Français contenant : les Libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane en 83 articles—avec un Commentaire ; la Déclaration du Clergé, de 1682, sur les limites de la puissance ecclésiastique : le Concordat—et sa loi organique, précédés des Rapports de M. Portais, &c. &c. &c. ; par M. DUPIN, procureur-général près la Cour de Cassation.*

\* \* \* \* \*

“ Ainsi, *que personne, de quelque rang et condition qu'il puisse être, n'ait l'audace de publier à l'avenir, de lire ou de conserver, en quelque langue que ce soit, les susdits ouvrages condamnés et proscrits, mais qu'il soit tenu de les livrer aux Ordinaires ou aux inquisiteurs de l'hérésie, le tout sous les peines portées à l'Index des livres défendus.*

“ Ce décret ayant été soumis par moi, Secrétaire soussigné, à NOTRE TRÈS-SAINT PÈRE LE PAPE GRÉGOIRE XVI., SA SAINTETÉ l'a approuvé et en a ordonné la promulgation. En foi de quoi, &c.

“ Donné à Rome le 7 Avril, 1845.

“ LE CARDINAL MAI, PRÉFET.

“ Place † du sceau.

“ FR. TH. ANTONIN DEGOLA, DE L'ORDRE DES FR. PP.

“ SECRÉTAIRE DE LA SACRÉE CONGRÉGATION.

“ Le décret ci-dessus a été publié et affiché, le 10 Avril, 1845, aux portes de Sainte-Marie-à-la-Minerve, de la Basilique du Prince des Apôtres, du Palais du Saint-Office, du Tribunal in Monte-Citorio, et autres lieux accoutumés de Rome, par moi, Louis Pittori, huissier apostolique.

“ JOSEPH CHERUBINI, premier huissier.”

Nor is this all. Before the 20th of the following month (of May), sixty Bishops of France had publicly given in their

adhesion to the *Mandement* of the Archbishop of Lyons! or, as it is expressed in a French journal :—

“ *De l'un des plus grands sièges de la chrétienté, de l'un des plus grands sièges de la France est partie une condamnation contre un livre dont l'auteur est procureur-général, le chef des procureurs-généraux ; il y a eu recours au Conseil-d'Etat, et après la décision du Conseil-d'Etat, il y a eu soixante adhésions d'évêques à l'acte condamné !* ”

(Note to p. 91.)

The Bishop of Langres in his *Tendances*, p. 75, (Paris, 1845,) speaks of the neglect of *Latin* in the colleges of the University as arising from anti-ecclesiastical motives.

“ Indépendamment des considérations générales que nous allons exposer, il serait facile de montrer, dans les détails de l'administration universitaire, des *tendances* formellement anti-Catholiques. Nous ne donnerons pour exemple et pour preuve que la *négligence* affectée pour la langue *Latine*. On ne lit plus de *Latin* dans les *écoles primaires*, et on ne l'apprend que très-mal dans les *collèges*, où l'on a mis en faveur le *Grec*, dont la connaissance approfondie est incomparablement moins utile et moins indispensable. C'est un fait notoire qu'aujourd'hui les élèves de l'Université ne savent pas de *Latin*. Pourquoi cela ? Pourquoi, lorsque le niveau des études est élevé sur tous les points, s'est-il abaissée sur un seul, la langue de l'Eglise Catholique ? ”

(Note to p. 101.)

We have seen (above, Note, p. 91,) that the French Bishops complain of the neglect of *Latin* in the University schools, and of preference given there to *Greek*. The former part of the charge appears to be well founded ; but the amount of attention paid to Greek in the schools of France is not such, I think, as to create much alarm : and a little more regard for it on the part of the French *Clergy* would inspire more confidence, than can now be reposed, in their theological reasonings, and more hope that they would readily embrace, and steadily maintain, the truth. In turning over the pages of a work by the same Bishop (one of the most celebrated in France), who makes this

accusation, I find the following passage (Des Empiètements, by the Bishop of Langres, p. 22): "*N'oublions pas que l'Eglise est une société divinement établie sur l'Unité d'un Chef Suprême pour être gouvernée par les Evêques successeurs des Apôtres.*" "*Spiritus Sanctus posuit Episcopos regere Ecclesiam Dei*<sup>5</sup>." Such is the Bishop's inference from the text, Προσέχετε τῷ ποιμνίῳ, ἐν ᾧ ὑμᾶς τὸ Πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον ἔθετο ἐπισκόπους, ποιμαίνειν τὴν ἐκκλησίαν τοῦ Θεοῦ.

This inference<sup>6</sup> will not lead the reader to attach much value to his assertion, with which this translation is coupled, concerning the *Chef Suprême* of the Church; and if his allegation be true concerning the University, that it encourages the study of the Greek language, he has pronounced, unawares, a high eulogy upon it, of more value from the present state of French theological literature, and one in which all lovers of the truth, and well-wishers both to the Church and University of France, must rejoice.

(Note to p. 108.)

In qualification, however, of this assertion of a broad *distinction* between Bossuet and the *Parlementaires*, I may be allowed to cite the following words of a living writer, of high repute among French Catholics, the Count Beugnot (in an article in the Correspondant of Feb. 25, 1845, on the Assembly of the French Clergy in 1682). "Bossuet et l'épiscopat Français, dont il était l'organe le plus fidèle et le plus éloquent, se distinguaient, avant toute chose, des partisans avoués de l'Eglise nationale, par l'intention, qui fut toujours chez eux loyale et pure. Ils ne voulaient pas disjoindre les liens qui unissaient le clergé de France au Siège apostolique; ils regardaient ces liens comme nécessaires à l'existence même du Catholicisme, comme la seule garantie du maintien de l'unité au sein de la société Chrétienne; en même temps, par une contradiction singulière, ils prétendaient conférer au clergé Français des prérogatives dont ne jouissait pas le clergé des autres Etats Catholiques; et, pour atteindre ce but, ils professaient sur les limites du pouvoir

<sup>5</sup> Acts xx. 28.

<sup>6</sup> The Bishop follows his Vulgate, as bound to do by the Council of Trent.

spirituel et du pouvoir temporel *précisément les mêmes doctrines qu'ils condamnaient chez les parlementaires et chez les Jansénistes.*"

Note to p. 105.

The following are the words of the present Pope, on the *Liberty of the Press*, in his Encyclic Letter of 1832:—

"Huc spectat *detrerrima illa, ac nunquam satis execranda et detestabilis* LIBERTAS artis *librariæ ad scripta quælibet edenda in vulgus*, quam tanto convicio audent nonnulli efflagitare ac promovere. Perhorrescimus, venerabiles Fratres, intuentes, quibus monstris doctrinarum, seu potiùs quibus errorum portentis obruamur, quæ longè ac latè ubique disseminantur ingenti librorum multitudine, libellisque, et scriptis mole quidem exiguis, malitiâ tamen permagnis, à quibus maledictionem egressam illacrymamur super faciem terræ.

"Ex constanti omnium ætatum sollicitudine, quâ semper sancta hæc Apostolica Sedes suspectos et noxios libros damnare, et de hominum manibus extorquere enisa est, patet luculentissimè, quantopere falsa, temeraria, eidemque Apostolicæ Sedi injuriosa, et fecunda malorum in Christiano populo ingentium sit illorum doctrina, qui nedum *censuram librorum* veluti gravem nimis, et onerosam rejiciunt, sed eo etiam improbitatis progrediuntur, ut eam prædicent à recti juris principiis abhorreere, jusque illius decernendæ, habendæque audeant Ecclesiæ denegare."

Note to p. 106.

In contrast with these accounts of conversions to Romanism, the following letter of a French Roman Catholic priest, lately converted from Romanism, will be read with interest: it is addressed to his diocesan, the Bishop of *Dijon*:—

"Dijon, le 19 mai, 1845.

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"J'ai l'honneur de vous prier d'accepter ma démission de l'emploi de vicaire à Saint-Michel, et de vous donner connaissance qu'à dater de ce jour je n'en remplirai plus les fonctions. Ce n'est qu'une conviction profonde qui m'a amené à prendre

cette détermination, et j'en regarde l'accomplissement comme un devoir impérieux.

" Pendant longtemps je n'ai étudié la parole de Dieu qu'à travers le prisme de préjugés de l'Eglise Romaine et à l'aide de ses commentaires ; mais le Seigneur, dans sa bonté, m'ayant donné la pensée de chercher à connaître cette parole en elle-même, je l'ai séparée des traditions humaines sous lesquelles elle a presque disparu. Alors, à mon grand chagrin, je n'ai pu me refuser à l'évidence avec laquelle il m'a été démontré combien *l'Eglise de Rome* avait fait subir d'altérations à l'économie scripturaire du salut.

" Depuis le moment où cette lumière a pénétré dans mon âme, j'ai compris qu'il y avait pour moi obligation de quitter des erreurs que jusque-là j'avais acceptées de confiance comme des vérités. . . .

" Toutefois, l'expérience me donnant la certitude qu'il n'est pas possible que l'Eglise Romaine abandonne les erreurs et les abus qui existent dans son sein ; que, bien loin de là, elle est toujours disposée, comme autrefois, à lancer des anathèmes contre quiconque serait assez hardi pour y vouloir substituer les vraies doctrines évangéliques, je me suis vu contraint, dans l'intérêt de mon salut, de me soustraire au joug d'un culte rempli de superstitions, pour m'attacher exclusivement à la parole de Dieu.

" La vitalité spirituelle qui semble se ranimer, si elle était bien dirigée dans son réveil, devrait sans doute conduire les hommes à Jésus, leur unique Sauveur ; mais la *direction anti-évangélique* que *l'Eglise Romaine* a prise depuis si longtemps déjà peut justement faire craindre que les âmes ne soient de plus en plus éloignées de la vérité. Ne la voyons-nous pas, en effet, cette Eglise, au lieu de chercher à satisfaire, par l'enseignement d'une doctrine sérieusement Chrétienne, les besoins religieux des *cœurs angoissés*, réunir tous ses efforts pour les amuser par une multitude de formules de culte inconnues à ceux qui nous ont devancés, et qui ne sont propres qu'à les endormir dans une trompeuse et funestre sécurité ?

" Mais si le spectacle de ces *doctrines humaines* qui ont été mises à la place de *l'Evangile* est pour moi la cause d'une pro-



fonde douleur, ce sera aussi un motif puissant pour m'engager à persévérer dans la prière, afin de demander au Père des lumières qu'il veuille, dans sa grande miséricorde, inspirer à tous les pasteurs de l'Eglise Romaine, quel que soit le titre qu'ils portent, la résolution de ne plus enseigner désormais que la vérité qui a été apportée aux hommes par le Sauveur, et qui seule peut les délivrer de l'esclavage du péché. (Saint Jean, VIII. 32, 36.)

"Puisse cette vérité, Monseigneur, vous être abondamment manifestée à vous-même par la grâce de Dieu! Ce sera toujours le vœu bien sincère et bien ardent de votre très-humble, &c.

"TRIVIER, ancien vicaire à Saint-Michel."

The following are extracts from a letter of the Bishop to the Clergy of Saint Michel, on occasion of this event. (Dijon, le 31 mai, 1845):—

"Un événement déplorable, nos très-chers frères, est venu porter le trouble dans nos esprits et la consternation dans nos cœurs. Nous-mêmes, malgré les avertissements formels du Sauveur qui, après avoir maudit le monde à cause de ses scandales, nous assure qu'il est nécessaire que le scandale arrive, nous avons senti notre âme un instant défailir en voyant que cette fois le scandale était sorti des rangs de la tribu sainte du sacerdoce de Jésus-Christ. Ce divin et adorable Maître, trahi de nouveau, comme au jour de sa passion, par celui qu'il appelait aussi son ami, et que, pendant tant d'années, il avait rendu le dispensateur de tous ses mystères, le confident de tous ses secrets!

\* \* \* \* \*

"A une époque où, du sein de la rationaliste Allemagne et de la protestante Angleterre, tant d'esprits éminents reviennent au Catholicisme;—lorsque, cédant malgré lui au germe de dissolution qu'il porte en lui-même, le Protestantisme se divise, pour ainsi dire, en autant de sectes qu'il y a d'individus qui en font partie;—il pourrait paraître superflu de prémunir les faibles contre les efforts de la propagande Protestante.

"Et cependant, nos très-chers frères, une religion dont les pratiques se réduisent à lire la Bible, et qui ne présente d'autres règles de croyance et de conduite que la raison individuelle, juge suprême du sens de l'Ecriture sainte, une telle religion peut séduire encore quelques âmes désireuses de conserver une apparence de Christianisme sans combattre des passions que le Christianisme réprouve et condamne. C'est en faveur de ces âmes que nous faisons un appel à votre charité et à votre zèle."

(Note to p. 141.)

The most respectable *Gallican* divines made no scruple of confessing that St. Cyprian and the African Bishops were excommunicated by Pope Stephanus, which the *Ultramontanes* of the present day are unwilling to believe (see above p. 23.).

Thus Fleury "*Discours sur les libertés de l'Eglise Gallicane*, p. 179, ed. 1765<sup>7</sup>: "St. Cyprien soutint avec tous les Evêques d'Afrique et plusieurs de l'Asie que les hérétiques devaient être rebaptisés contre la décision expresse de St. Etienne, qui passa jusqu'à l'excommunication au moins comminatoire; et St. Augustin, pour excuser St. Cyprien, ne dit autre chose que la question n'avait point encore été décidée par un concile universel; donc ni St. Cyprien ni St. Augustin ne croyoient pas que l'on fût obligé de soumettre sitôt que le Pape avait parlé;"—and therefore, as Fleury's annotator, Monsieur Labastide, observes, "Ni St. Cyprien ni St. Augustin ne croyoient pas le Pape infallible;" and therefore we may also add, they did not believe that *there was no salvation out of communion with Rome*, and that, if there is a divinely appointed centre of unity in the Church any where, it is at *Rome*.

(Note to p. 160.)

The following observations on this subject will be found in

<sup>7</sup> See also Fleury, *Hist. Eccl.* iv. n. 44, vii. n. 27. S. Augustin. c. Donat. i. c. 4.

the Edinburgh Review, No. CLXIV., in an able article on the University and Church in France, April 1845 :—

“ The attempt to amalgamate the religious party with the rest of the nation, to *build up a State penetrated with Church principles*, or a Church which should spontaneously move in harmony with the State, seems never to occur to the imagination of a statesman in that country (France), although seven-eighths of its people belong nominally to the same faith. Every liberal potentate, therefore, regarding the *Church* simply as an *enemy* whom he is anxious to disarm, naturally makes his overtures to that section which it is most desirable to conciliate, *that* which is most active and energetic at home, has the strongest allies abroad, and is the most likely to give trouble to his Government, that is, the *extreme party*. Had Louis Philippe been sure of his throne, no one can doubt that his high intelligence and abilities would have led him to see the *true salvation* of France in *reanimating the freer Catholicism of better days* among her people ; but his first necessity was to secure himself. He had little encouragement to embark in undertakings which could have only a distant result, to sow seeds in order that future generations might sit in safety under their vine and fig-tree : enough for him to buy off the immediate antagonist. And so thought Napoleon before him. And with Louis Philippe, as with Napoleon, this *selfish policy* was not long in bringing its *own retribution*. The higher clergy of France is composed of eighty Archbishops and Bishops. Of these, in 1844, fifty-nine had been appointed by the present King, twenty under the Restoration, one (the Cardinal La Tour d’Auvergne) by Napoleon when First-Consul. Fifty-three out of the whole eighty have ‘pronounced’ *against the government on this question of education*, including a large majority of those of recent appointment. Such is the natural and deserved reward which one power obtains by truckling to another essentially its antagonist, implacable and unchangeable !”

An article in the *English Review* for April 1845 will be found to give further information on the present relations of the Church and State in France.

(Note to p. 190.)

The Episcopal remonstrances concerning national education have been recently published in two volumes under the title of "*Actes Episcopaux relatifs au Projet de la Loi sur l'Instruction Secondaire*," Paris, 1845, 12mo.

THE END.

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